

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF L(V)ĒMULAVĀDA

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PREFACE

Vemulavada is a fairly large village in the Karimnagar district and the Rajeswaraswami Temple and the Tank nearby attract crowds of pilgrims even today. Tradition associates this place with the famous Telugu Poet Bhima Kavi but there is more definite proof of the famous Kannada Poet Pampa having lived here as the court poet of Arikesari II and dedicated to his royal patron his famous work *Bharata* or *Vikramarjuna Vijaya*.

Pampa's patron, Arikesari II claims to be of the Chalukya family; and Pampa describes the history of this Vemulavada Chalukya family and gives a great deal of information confirmed by inscriptions, particularly the inscription at Vemulavada, edited in this book at the end.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has made a special study of the History of this dynasty in the present monograph and fortifies his conclusions by editing or re-editing four important inscriptions in the Appendix. His long essay on the Rashtrakutas and the Gurjara-Pratiharas tackles an important problem and throws considerable light on many a dark corner of this obscure chapter in Indian History.

A brief note on the Antiquities of Vemulavada is being published separately in a Handbook; but a few plates, however, have been included in this book at the end, in order to give some idea of the many antiquities in this place.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has done a great service to the students of medieval history, and I wish to express here my deep sense of gratitude for his readily undertaking to prepare this monograph at my request and carrying it out so promptly in spite of unusual difficulties and heavy pressure of other work.

P. SREENIVASACHAR

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Although the main object of the present monograph is to trace the history of the Chālukyas of Lēmūlavāḍa, an account of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Gūrjara-Pratīhāra relations has been added as an appendix, as the Lēmūlavāḍa chiefs played an important part in the wars between the two dynasties. For the convenience of reference, the texts of important inscriptions of the dynasty are also given with critical notes and introductions in Appendixes A, B, C and D. A word of explanation is necessary about the name of the village Lēmūlavāḍa after which the Chālukya princes of the family are designated. Though the village which formerly served them as their capital is known at present as Vēmūlavāḍa, it is referred to in the inscriptions as Lēmūlavātaka, an obvious Sanskritisation of the Telugu name Lēmūlavāḍa which I have adopted in this monograph.

In preparing this work, I have received considerable help from Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, formerly Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras and the Professor of Indology at present in the University of Mysore, who revised the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions and criticisms. Mr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., the Reader and the Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Madras rendered me invaluable help in the study of the inscriptions; Mr. M. Soma-sekhara Sarma, formerly Reader in the Department of History and Politics in the Andhra University and now the joint editor of the Telugu Bhāshā Samiti Encyclopaedia, not only revised the manuscript but clarified several obscure points of chronology and history. To these scholars I tender my heartfelt thanks.

I am deeply thankful to Mr. P. Srinivasachar, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad

State for including this monograph in the valuable publications of his department; and to Mr. G. Srinivasachari, the Proprietor of the G. S. Press, for the extraordinary speed, efficiency and neatness with which he has executed the printing.

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CONTENTS

Preface	v
Author's Preface	vii
I. The Sources	1
II. Origin, Genealogy and Chronology	3
III. Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla I	13
IV. Arikēsari I	19
V. Sōlada-Guṇḍa—Baddega	21
VI. Narasimha II	24
VII. Arikēsari II	30
VIII. Vāgarāja and Arikēsari III	41
IX. Religion, Architecture and Literature	43
Appendix	
The Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras	47
A. The Kollipara plates	73
B. The Kuruvagaṭṭa Inscription	81
C. The Lēmulaṇḍa Inscription	82
D. The Parabhani plates	92

LIST OF PLATES

1. Kuruvagaṭṭa Inscription
L(V)ēmulavāḍa Inscription
2. *First Side*
3. *Second Side*
4. *Third Side*
5. *Fourth Side*
6. Site plan of the Lēmulavāḍa village
7. Front view of Bhimeshwar Temple
8. A side elevation of Bhimeshwar Temple
9. Ground plan of Bhimeshwar Temple
10. Front elevation of Kalyan Mandap, Rajeshwar Temple
Entrance of Rajeshwar Temple
11. Ground plan of Rajeshwar Temple
12. Plan of Kedareshwar Temple

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF L(V)ĒMULAVĀDA *

I

THE SOURCES

Sources :—The sources of the history of the Lēmula-vāḍa chiefs fall into two classes, epigraphical and literary:—

(i) *Epigraphical* :—The inscriptions though few are important, as they supply valuable information about the history of the family. These fall into two classes: Of the four inscriptions that have been discovered so far two are engraved on stone and the other two on copper-plates.

(a) *Stone inscriptions* : The Kuruvagaṭṭa epigraph is the earliest record of the family. It bears no date, but palaeography points to the latter half of the 8th century A.D., as the most probable time when it was engraved. This is corroborated by the historical information furnished by it. V(B)iragriha, the son of Chālukya Vinayāditya is said to have been a good friend of K(G)ōvinda Vallabha, son of Kalivallabha of the Rāshtrakūṭa-vamśa.¹

More important than this is the well-known Lēmula-vāḍa epigraph of Arikēsari II.² It traces the history of the family from the time of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla to that of Arikēsari II, who flourished in the first half of the 10th century A.D., and contains much valuable information about the history of the Deccan during the age of Rāshtrakūṭa emperors.

(b) *Copper-plates* : These also are two in number. The earlier of these are the *Kollipara* plates of Arikēsari I,

* Vide author's preface.

1. See App. (B) Kuruvagaṭṭa inscription.

2. (C) The Lēmula-vāḍa inscription.

the son of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla, the founder of the family. It traces the descent of Arikēsari from Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama and Prithvīpati, Mahārāja, Rājāditya-Prithuvikrama and Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla and attributes to the last mentioned chief the conquest of several countries including Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kāśmīra, Kāmbhōja, Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Ganga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. The genuineness of this record is not above doubt, and great caution must be exercised in utilising the information furnished by it.³

The *Parabhani* plates of Arikēsari III (A.D. 966) gives a complete history of the family from Yuddhamalla I to Arikēsari III though not so full as the Lēmulaṅḍa inscription, it covers very much the same ground, and supplements it here and there with new facts. What adds to the interest of the record is that the donee who received the gift is the famous Jaina divine and scholar Sōmadēvasūri, the author of *Yaśastilaka champu* and other Sanskrit works.⁴

(ii) The most important literary source is, of course, the *Bhārata* or *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* of Pampa, who flourished in the court of Arikēsari II, to whom the poem is dedicated. In the introduction to his poem (vv. 15-50) Pampa describes the history of his patron's family and gives pretty much the same information as that contained in the Lēmulaṅḍa inscription mentioned above in addition to some interesting details about the achievements of his patron in the body of the work.⁵

Sōmadēvasūri figures, as noted above, as the donee in the *Parabhani* plates. In his *Yaśastilaka champu*, he refers

3. App. (A) The Kollipara plates.

4. „ (D) *Parabhani* plates.

5. *Pampa Bhārata*, Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, 1931.

to his patron with gratitude, and mentions the important fact that he was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III who, at the time of the completion of the work (Ś 881/A.D. 959), having subjugated the Pāṇḍya, Siṃhala and Chērama, was ruling from Mēlpāḍi (in the Chittoor district of the Andhra State).⁶

II

ORIGIN, GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

The Origin: The Parabhani plates of Arikēsari III dated A.D. 966 throw some interesting light on the question of the origin of the Chālukyas. According to this record, Yuddhamalla, the founder of Lēmulaṽḍa branch, was a member of the well-known Chālukya family born of the Sun.⁷ Neither the Chālukyas of Bādāmi from whom all the other branches claim descent nor the early Chālukya kings of Vēngi and Gujarat say anything about their family affiliation.⁸ The later Eastern Chālukyas as well as those of Kalyāṇi who ruled in the eleventh century A.D., however, derive their descent from the Moon and claim Ayōdhya as the early home of their family. This is a mere legend which cannot be taken into serious consideration. The roots of the legend, however, seem to go back to a much earlier period. The idea that Ayōdhya, the seat of the Solar line of kings, was the home of the Chālukyas appears to have been current in the tenth century A.D. That must have been in all probability the reason for ascribing them to the

6. The *Yaśastilakam*, Kavyamala 70, p. 419.

7. *Asty = Āditya-bhavō vaṃśaḥ Chālukya iti viśrutah.*

8. The following clause in the Sorab plates (E. C. VIII, Sb. 571) of Vinayāditya, *hīma-kara-kara-vimala-kula-paribhava-vilaya-hētu* is sometimes considered to contain a hint about the Lunar origin of the Chālukya family; but this is no more than a simile, and no reasonable inference about the origin of the Chālukyas can be drawn from it.

Solar family in the Parabhani plates. Why the later Chālukyas of Vēngi and Kalyāṇi chose Ayōdhya as the original habitat of their family is not known. Perhaps it was due to a dim recollection of their early association with the Ikshvāku kings of Vijayapura who held sway over the lower Kṛishṇa valley in the Andhra country in the post Sātavāhana period. A Khaṁḍa-Chaliki-Remmaṇaka, i.e., Remmaṇaka, son of Khaṁḍa (Skanda) Chaliki of the Hiranyaka tribe is mentioned in one of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Prakrit inscriptions as a *mahāsēnāpati* and *mahātalavara* under the Ikshvākus.⁹ The Chalikis were obviously a subdivision of the Hiranyakas, who inhabited the Hiranyarāshṭra of the Pallava and the early Rēnāḍu Chōḷa inscriptions, the later Honnavāḍi and modern Jammalamadugu taluk of the Cuddapah district. The Eastern Chālukya inscriptions place the scene of the encounter between Vijayāditya of Ayōdhya and Trilōchana Pallava at Muḍivēmu, that is Pedamuḍiam in the Jammalamadugu taluk. It was here too that after Vijayāditya's death in the battle his wife was sheltered by Vishṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayājin and that Vishṇuvardhana was born and brought up as his foster son. It is not therefore unlikely that like the Ikshvākus, whom they served, the Chalikis might have originally migrated from Ayōdhya in the remote past and it was perhaps this memory that prompted them to pitch upon this city as their original habitat in formulating their genealogies.

Genealogy :—Besides the Kollipara and Parabhani plates, and Lēmulaṽḍa epigraph, the *Vikramārjunaviḷayam* of Pampa, as stated above, describes the genealogy of the family and the Kuravagaṭṭa inscription also furnishes some additional information. The Kollipara plates, which purport to be the earliest record of the family, contain the following list of kings.

9. E.I. XX, p. 6.

(1) *The Kollipara plates*
Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama

—
Prithivīpati

—
Mahārāja

—
Rājāditya (Prithuvikrama)

—
Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla

The Kuruvagaṭṭa inscription belongs to the same time as the above.

(2) *The Kuruvagaṭṭa inscription*
Vinayāditya

—
V(B)iragriha

Next in point of time come the Lēmulaṅḍa inscription and Pampa's *Vikramārjunaviṇayaṃ* :

(3) *Lēmulaṅḍa inscription*
Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla I

—
Arikēsari I

—
Narasimhavarma-Rājāditya I

—
Yuddhamalla II

—
Baddega

—
Yuddhamalla III

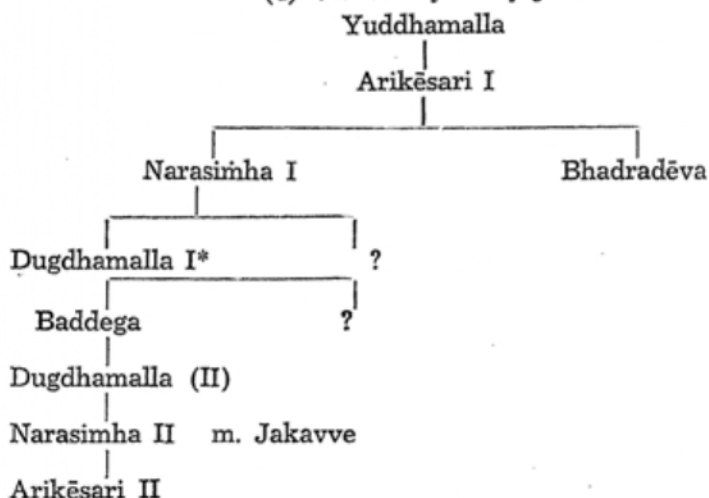
—
Narasimhadeva II

—
Arikēsari II, m. Revakanirmaḍi d. of Indra

The relation between the successive rulers excepting the first two and the last two is not clearly stated in the inscription. It either omits mentioning the relationship between one ruler and another or passes on simply with *tataḥ*, *paśchāt*, &c. The relationship is however definitely stated by Pampa. As he was a court-poet and officer in the service of Arikēsari II as well as a contemporary of the author of the Lēmulaṅḍa inscription, the relationship to one another

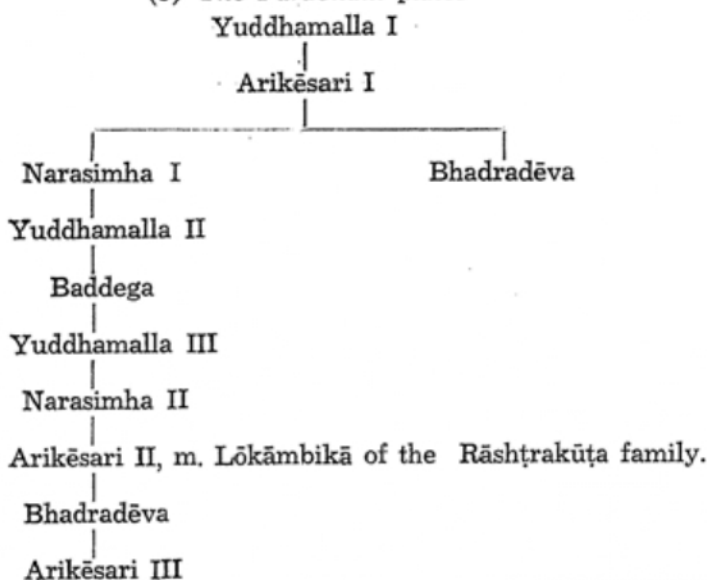
of the predecessors of his patron stated by him may be taken to be correct and applicable to the list in the Lēmūlavāḍa epigraph also.

(4) *Vikramārjunavijayam*



Last come the Parabhani plates :—

(5) *The Parabhani plates*



* Dugdhamalla is said to be but a variation of the name Yuddhamalla.

Of the five genealogical lists given above, that furnished by the Kollipara plates is the least trustworthy. There is reason to believe that the inscription is dated in Kali 4121 (A.D. 1020) and the paleographic evidence is not at variance with this date.^{9a} Moreover, according to the genealogy given in this record, four kings, viz., Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama, Pṛithivīpati, Mahārāja, and Rājāditya preceded Vinayāditya, the father of Arikēsari, the donor of the gift mentioned in it. Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama is obviously Pulakēśin I, the founder of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi, who ruled from A.D. 543 to 566. The inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi do not mention a son of Pulakēśin I named Pṛithivīpati, and the attempt to identify him and his successors with Kirtivarman I and his descendants, cannot be considered successful.¹⁰ On the basis of this identification, allotting twenty-five years for a generation, we get A.D. 640-65 as the probable period of Vinayāditya's rule. He would then become a contemporary of Pulakēśin II's sons Chandrāditya, Ādityavarman, and Vikramāditya I.¹¹ This is, from a chronological point of view, impossible; for, definite epigraphical and literary evidence shows that Vinayāditya's two sons Arikēsari and V(B)īragriha flourished in the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs Nirupama Dhruva (A.D. 780-93) and his son and successor Gōvinda III (A.D. 793-814) respectively.¹² Vinayāditya, therefore, must have lived

9a. Bhārati, VII, ii. p. 310.

10. Ibid., VII, ii. pp. 307-8, *Nāḍōja Pampa*, pp. 23 ff.

11. (1) Satyāśraya Raṇavikrama—A.D. 540-65.

(2) Pṛithivīpati A.D. 565-590.

(3) Mahārāja—A.D. 590-615.

(4) Rājāditya—A.D. 615-640.

(5) Vinayāditya—A.D. 640-665.

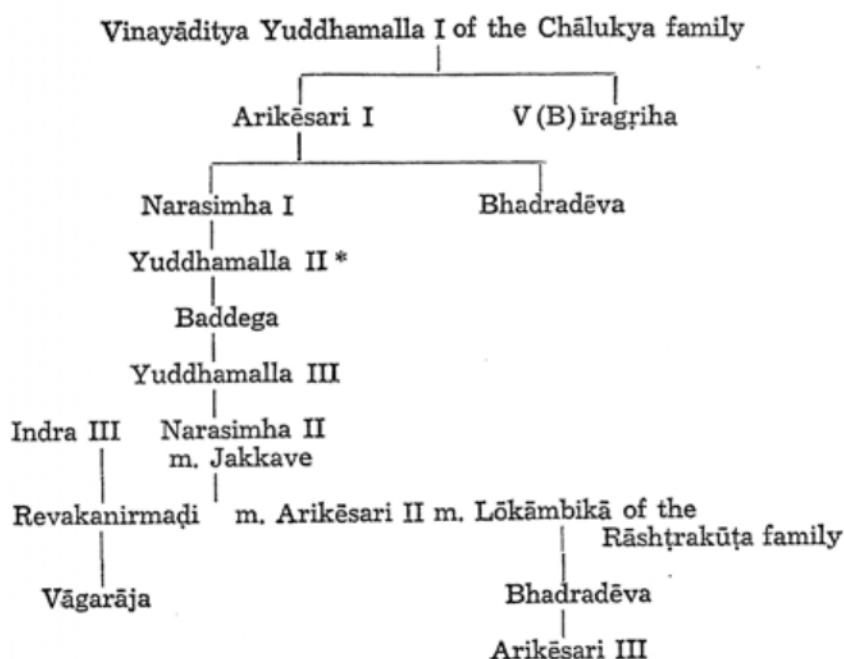
12. App. (B); *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, 1, 18-20; App. (C).

during the time of Kṛishṇa I (A.D. 758-71) and perhaps also of Dantidurga (A.D. 745-58) and not nearly a century before. An attempt has also been made to tack on the kings of this inscription to the Lāṭa branch of the Bādāmi Chālukya family. Rājāditya, the father of Vinayāditya of the Kollipara plates, has been identified with Jayasimha, the youngest son of Pulakēśin II.¹³ A semblance of plausibility has been lent to this identification by the titles Vinayāditya and Yuddhamalla of his son Mangalarasa and the continuance of his rule upto A.D. 730-31.¹⁴ Mangalarasa, however, appears to have died soon after; and he was succeeded by his younger brother Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśivallabha some time before October A.D. 739.¹⁵ As Mangalarasa was succeeded not by his son but by his younger brother, he probably died without male issue. At any rate he could not have been identical with Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, the father of Arikēsari and V(B)īragrihā who lived nearly half a century afterwards. These considerations militate against the genuineness of the Kollipara plates: and the information furnished by it must be utilised with utmost caution in reconstructing not only the genealogy of the Lēmulaṅga chiefs, but also their history. Satyāśraya Raṇavikrama was undoubtedly a historical person. The Lēmulaṅga chiefs believed probably that they descended from him, and forgetting the real line of descent, they fabricated the names of Prithivīpati, Mahārāja and Rājāditya to fill up the gap. These may therefore be rejected as false without hesitation. In the light of the information provided by the other records, the following genealogy may be reconstructed.

13. *Naḍōja Pampa*, pp. 25-7.

14. *DKD*, p. 374.

15. International Congress of Orientalists, 1881, Vienna, Aryan Sect, p. 232 ff.



Chronology: A precise chronological scheme of the Lēmūlavāḍa chiefs cannot be formulated in the present state of our knowledge. The few inscriptions of the family that have so far come to light do not offer much help, as most of them are undated. Only two dates are known and both of them refer themselves to the reigns of Vāgarāja and Arikēsari III, the last kings of the line. Sōmadēvasūri finished the composition of his *Yaśastilaka-Champu* on Chaitra, mathana-trayōḍaśi of Siddhārthi, corresponding to Śaka 881 (A.D. 959), when Vāgarāja, a *sāmanta* of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, was camping at Mēlpāḍi. The Parabhani plates record a gift of land made by Arikēsari III to the same Jaina divine Sōmadēva on Wednesday, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsya of the year Kshaya, Ś. 888 (A.D. 966). It is evident that both Vāgarāja and Arikēsari III were subordinates of Kṛishṇa III

* Same as the Dugdhamalla of Pampa.

(A.D. 939-967-8). Though such definite dates are not available for other princes of the family, their regnal periods can be roughly determined with the help of the known dates of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs with whom their names are linked. These synchronisms may be noted with advantage at first, before proceeding to formulate the chronological scheme for the whole family.

The earliest of these synchronisms occurs in the time of Arikēsari I. According to the Lēmūlavāḍa inscription Arikēsari effected the conquest of Vēngi; the Parabhani plates add Trikalinga to Vēngi. Pampa corroborates the evidence of both the records and supplements it with the statement that the conquest of these countries took place during the reign of Nirupamadēva, that is the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Nirupama Dhruva who ruled the Rāshtrakūṭa empire from A.D. 780 to 793.

While Arikēsari is thus seen to have been a contemporary of Nirupama Dhruva, his brother or half-brother V(B)īragriha was, according to Kuravagaṭṭa epigraph, a beloved friend of K(G)ōvinda Vallabha, son of Kali Vallabha, that is Dhruva. As Gōvinda III came to the throne in A.D. 793 and ruled upto A.D. 814, V(B)īragriha also must have lived at this time.

The next synchronism occurs in the time of Baddega, the great grandson of Arikēsari I. He is said to have captured a king called Bhīma, as if he would seize a crocodile in water; the Bhīma mentioned here is Chālukya-Bhīma I, who ruled over Vēngi from A.D. 892 to 921-2; and Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, the predecessor of Chālukya-Bhīma I, who ruled from A.D. 848 to 892 is said to have offered, according to some Eastern Chālukya inscriptions of the tenth century, protection to Baddega who was advancing towards him.¹⁶

From this it is evident that Baddega was a contemporary both of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III and Chālukya Bhīma I. He appears to have lived in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.

Baddega's grandson Narasimha II flourished in the first quarter of the tenth century. The chronological data bearing on his date are not very precise, though they unmistakably point out that he lived during the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III (A.D. 915-29).¹⁷ In the first place, according to Pampa, Narasimha II's son Arikēsari II was fondled on the shoulders of Indra which served him as his cradle;¹⁸ in another context Pampa queries whether any one else excepting Hariga (Arikēsari) deserves to sit upon the *ardhāsana* of Indra as Arjuna had done formerly.¹⁹ On the strength of these allusions the suggestion has been put forward by Mr. M. Govinda Pai that Jākavve, the mother of Arikēsari II and the wife of Narasimha II, was a sister of Indra III.²⁰ Though direct proof is lacking, this is not improbable. Moreover, Narasimha is credited with the conquest of Lāṭa, Seven Mālavas, as well as a victory over the Gūrjara king Mahīpāla, and the setting up of a pillar of victory at Kālapriya after causing his horses to drink the water of the Ganges.²¹ The same achievements are attributed to Indra III in the later Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions.²² Therefore, the contemporaneity of Narasimha II and Indra III may be considered as an established fact.

17. EI. XXVI, p. 163.

18. *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, 1: 44.

19. *Ibid.*, 8: 28.

20. See my *Lēmūlavāḍa Chālukyulu*, (*Bharati*, Sarvadhāri, Bhādrapada, p. 301.

21. *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, 1: 33-8.

22. EI., VI, No. 26, V. 19.

Arikēsari II was the contemporary of at least three Rāshtrakūṭa kings. He was probably a nephew, sister's son, of Indra III who brought him up in his court and bestowed on him the hand of his daughter Rēvakanirmaḍi in marriage. He was also a feudatory of Gōvinda IV (A.D. 929-35) against whom he conspired and was mainly instrumental in compassing his ruin, and placing upon the Rāshtrakūṭa throne Baddega Amōghavarsha III (A.D. 935-939). Arikēsari probably succeeded his father in A.D. 935 and ruled his principality till about 955.

With the help of the information furnished by these synchronisms and the few definite dates that are available, an attempt may now be made to formulate a tentative chronological scheme of the Lēmūlavāḍa chiefs.

	A.D.
Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I	750 - 775
Arikēsari I	775 - 800
Narasimha I	800 - 825
Yuddhamalla II	825 - 850
Baddega	850 - 895
Yuddhamalla III	895 - 915
Narasimha II	915 - 930
Arikēsari II	930 - 955
Vāgarāja	955 - 965
Arikēsari III	966 - ?

In formulating this scheme, excepting in cases where definite chronological data are available, a period of twenty-five years is assigned to each generation. In the case of Baddega, a long period of forty-five years is allotted, because he was not only the hero of forty-two battles but also a contemporary of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III and Chālukya-Bhīma I. This chronological scheme is, as stated above, only tentative. Though it indicates roughly the actual period of each of the

chiefs, a rigid adherence to it may not be possible, as it may have to be revised in the light of new facts that may come to light.

III

VINAYĀDITYA-YUDDHAMALLA I

(A.D. 750 - 775)

Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla or Yuddhamalla, as he is more generally referred to in the records of the family, is represented in the Kollipara plates as a great conqueror who reduced to subjection several countries including Turushka, Yavana, Kāśmīra, Kāmbhōja, Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Ganga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa, in other words, almost the whole of this vast sub-continent. No great Chālukya conqueror of this age is, however, known to history.²³ It is more likely that the conquests attributed to Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla in the Kollipara plates, whose genuineness, as stated above, is not above question, are grossly exaggerated, and do not deserve serious consideration. They may therefore be treated as mythical. It is perhaps for this reason that the authentic records of the family which describe some of his real achievements ignore these conquests altogether.

23. A certain Chālukya Rāhappa, who had the title of Paramēśvara as well as the Pālidhvaja banner is mentioned in the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions (E.I. III, p. 107 ff) as the opponent of Kṛṣṇa I. He overthrew the Rāshtrakūṭa authority for a short while after the death of Dantidurga and attempted to restore the Chālukya power. It took several years for Kṛṣṇa I to overthrow him and re-establish the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty over the Deccan (E.I. XIV, pp. 121-30). Rāhappa is not, however, credited with any conquests; and it is not possible that he could have been identical with Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla of the Kollipara plates.

Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, according to the Lēmula-vāḍa inscription,²⁴ ruled over the Sapādalaksha country, that could not be governed by others, caused all his elephants to be bathed in a reservoir filled with oil at Pōdana; and captured a fort called Chitrakūṭa which was considered inaccessible.^{24a} The last named conquest is, however, omitted both in the *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* and the Parabhani plates. The former adds that the elephants were five hundred in number and that they bathed not in one but a number of *dirghikas* filled with oil.²⁵ Of these exploits of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, the last mentioned, viz., causing the elephants—whatever be their number—to be bathed in one or several tanks need not detain us, as it is of no historical consequence. The other achievements attributed to him demand greater attention; and it is necessary to examine the circumstances in which they were accomplished. The governance of the Sapādalaksha country which, judging from the order of the events described in the inscriptions, appears to have been Yuddhamalla's first achievement, may be taken at first for consideration. It is not possible with the help of the data furnished by the inscriptions and Pampa's *Vikramārjuna-Vijayam* to determine the locality where it was situated. A late inscription of the time of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi at Lēmula-vāḍa in the Karimnagar district in the Hyderabad State²⁶ dated C.V. 8/A.D. 1083-4 refers to Kosavalam-savālakshkhe, a part of which is said to have been under the rule of a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rājādityarasa, a noble in the service of the emperor Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI). This could not have been the Sapādalaksha country properly so called. Palkuriki Sōmanātha, a poet of the early fourteenth

24. App. (C) vv. 2-4.

24a. „ (C) vv. 2-4.

25. *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, 1: 16-17 App. (D) v. 3.

26. Tel. Ins. Ch. 19.

century, uses *Sapādalaksha* as a term indicating the areas of the countries Nēpāla, Kēdāra, Tīrkārti, Kāśmīra, Kannōja, Konkana and Kalinga,²⁷ and not as the proper name of any one country as in the Lēmulaṅḍa and the Parabhani inscriptions and Pampa's *Vikramārjuna-Vijayam*. *Savalakhkhe* in the Kosavalam-Savalakhkhe of the record mentioned above must also be taken as indicating the extent of a district called Kosavalam, though curiously enough it is not included in the list of *Sapādalaksha* countries by Pālakuriki Somanātha, himself a native of Telingana in which Kosavalam-Savalakhkhe was obviously situated. Had it been known in his day, it is highly improbable that he would have failed to mention it. Another fact which must be kept in mind in this connection is the tendency of the people to name one tract after another for historical and other reasons. It is not unlikely that Vinayāditya gave the name of *Sapādalaksha* where he first rose to fame to his own district of Kosavalam. The name of a country called *Sapādalaksha* is occasionally met with in Sanskrit literature and the mediaeval North Indian inscriptions. Śrutasāgara, the commentator of the *Yasastilaka-champu* explaining the meaning of the sentence, *aśmantaka-vēśma-vihayāhi* states, '*aśmantaka, sapādalaksha-parvata-nivāsin*.'²⁸ A more valuable reference

27. Several *Sapādalaksha* countries are enumerated in the *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra* (*Āndhragrantha-māla*, No. 30, Part II, p. 145) by the Telugu poet, Palkuriki Somanātha, who flourished in the first half of the 14th century A.D. in Telingana.

Nēpāla is *Sapādalaksha*.

Kēdāra is *Sapādalaksha*.

Tīrkārti is *Sapādalaksha*.

Kāśmīra is *Sapādalaksha*.

Kannōja is *Sapādalaksha*.

Konkana is *Sapādalaksha*.

Kalinga is *Sapādalaksha*.

28. *Kāvya-māla*, No. 70, pp. 187-8, see also G. Jha's, *Inst. Journal*, II, p. 286.

to Sapādalaksha is found in the Chitodghad inscription of the Chālukya king Kumārapāla of Gujarat dated A.D. 1150-51 in which it is stated that the king defeated the ruler of Śākambhari, devastated the Sapādalaksha country and lay encamped at Śālipura at the foot of the Chitrakūṭa mountain.²⁹ The Sapādalaksha country mentioned in these records corresponds, in the opinion of competent authorities, to Śākambhari; that is the modern Sambhar territory in the Eastern Rajaputana.³⁰

How did Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, a southern prince, very probably a native of Telingana, come to rule over the Sapādalaksha country in the Eastern Rajaputana? It is highly improbable that he would have undertaken its conquest on his own account, and imposed his rule over it. The language of the Lēmulaṅḍa epigraph seems to indicate that he was not an independent ruler but a subordinate prince who successfully performed a difficult task not possible for others.³¹ In all likelihood, he seems to have helped some powerful southern conqueror by holding sway over a part of the conquered territory which could not be controlled easily.

Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, according to the chronology adopted in this monograph ruled from A.D. 750 to 775. It is interesting to note that the commencement of his rule coincided roughly with the rise of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga to

29. Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume, pp. 113-15.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Sō = 'yam kilā śāsad = ananya-śāsya-sapādalaksha-kshitim* (App. C). This statement carries with it the implication that he succeeded in governing the Sapādalaksha country where others who were in charge of its administration failed. What is claimed for him here seems only to be the credit due to a successful subordinate who performed a particularly hard task to the satisfaction of some superior.

power. Although he declared his independence as early as A.D. 742,³² he does not seem to have effected any conquests before A.D. 754; for his Samangad plates dated in that year refer only to his victory over the Vallabha and the assumption of the imperial dignity. The Ellōra Daśāvatāra cave inscription³³ though damaged considerably, gives a fairly full account of his victories. He is said to have vanquished the Vallabha (i.e., the Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi), Sindhubhūpa, Kāñchīśa, the king of Kōsala and Kalinga, besides the rulers of Mālava, Lāṭa and Ṭanka. Of the monarchs said to have been conquered by Dantidurga, only those that ruled in the north concern us here. These are four in number, the rulers of Lāṭa, Mālava, Ṭanka, and Sindhu. No information is available about the circumstances in which Dantidurga invaded Lāṭa; probably Lāṭa was not an independent state at this time but formed part of the Mālava which was under the rule of a king called Dēva whose dynastic affiliations are unknown. Unable to resist the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra invasion under Siluka, he seems to have appealed to Dantidurga for help. Having defeated Siluka, and reduced to subjection Mālava and Lāṭa (*tīra-kshiti*) he seems to have proceeded perhaps in pursuit of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra forces to Rajaputana, and subjugated Ṭanka (modern Tonk); he next appears to have marched west towards Sindh and inflicted a defeat on the Muslim ruler of the country.³⁴ Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was in all probability a subordinate of Dantidurga.³⁵ The evidence of the spurious Kollipara plates lend

32. E.I., XXV, No. 4, pp. 28 f.

33. ASWI, V. pp. 92-6.

34. For a full discussion of the subject see the Appendix on the Rāshtrakūṭa Gūrjara-Pratīhāra relations.

35. Though no direct evidence of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla's subordination to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch is available, it is almost certain that he owed allegiance to him, for both his sons Arikēsari and Bīragriha as well as all their descendants up to Arikēsari III acknowledged the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings.

colour to this belief; for Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla like Dantidurga is said to have conquered among others the Turushka (of Sindhu), Mālava, Kalinga, Ganga and Pallava rulers.³⁶ It may therefore be held with reason that he was a subordinate of Dantidurga, and that he accompanied his master during the latter's expedition to Mālava, Lāṭa, Ṭanka and Sindhu, where he held sway over Sapādalaksha during the Rāshtrakūṭa occupation of that country.

The hill-fort of Chitrakūṭa which Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla captured cannot be identified definitely; for more than one fortress of that name is known to have played an important part in the history of mediaeval India. In the first place, there is the Chitrakūṭa, the famous Chitodghad in Rajaputana which is referred to in Chālukya Kumārapāla's inscription cited above. Another, situated in Bundelkhand in Central India, figures frequently in the Rāshtrakūṭa wars with Central Indian princes. It is not unlikely that the former which was situated in the Sapādalaksha country itself or its immediate neighbourhood was the fort that was reduced to subjection by Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, and this feat was accomplished during the period of his rule over the Sapādalaksha territory.

Pōdana, where Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla caused his elephants to be bathed in reservoirs filled with oil, was probably his capital. Though at present it is a small village in the Nizamabad district in the Hyderabad State, it was an ancient city going back to the age of the Buddha. After the death of Dantidurga, Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, unable to maintain his authority in the Sapādalaksha country returned to his own principality, and continued to rule it in peace until his death.

36. See App., on the Rāshtrakūṭa Gūrjara Pratihāra relations,

IV

ARIKĒSARI I (A.D. 775-800)

Vinayāditya had two sons, Arikēsari I and Bīragriha. The former succeeded him as the head of his principality. The Kollipara plates (App. A) are supposed to register the gift of a village in the Rāmaḍu-Vishaya to a Kālāmukha divine at Elēsvaram, the northern gateway of the Śrīsaila mountain. Whether genuine or not, the inscription furnishes no information of any value pertaining to Arikēsari's career. In the records of his successors, he is said to have conquered the kingdom of Vēngi and Trikalanga during the time of Nirupamadēva, that is the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha Dhruva, who ruled from A.D. 780 to 793. The conquest of Vēngi and Trikalanga was not merely due to territorial ambition. It was largely due to the interstate rivalries in the South. When the Rāshtrakūṭas overthrew the power of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and took possession of their dominions, they regarded themselves as the political heirs of their predecessors and the overlords of the neighbouring kingdoms. Though they generally remained content with submission and the payment of tribute which in most cases could have been only nominal, they looked upon Vēngi as a territory specially belonging to themselves. Vishnuvardhana I, the founder of the kingdom of Vēngi, owed his throne to his elder brother and sovereign Pulkēśin II and all his successors remained feudatories at least in theory of the kings of Bādāmi. The Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs attempted to enforce this claim, and plunged Vēngi in a war which lasted with interruptions until the last quarter of the 10th century, when their authority was finally overthrown.

The war between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Vēngi began with the invasion of Yuvarāja Gōvinda II in A.D. 770. The cause of this invasion has perhaps to be traced to the help—direct or indirect—rendered by Vishnu-

vardhana IV or his father to Rāhappa, the Chālukya pretender to the throne of Bādāmi. The history of the war is not known; but the Rāshtrakūṭas gained a complete victory, as a consequence of which, in the language of the Alas plates, 'the lord of Vēngi was humbled by the cession of his treasury, his forces and his own country.'³⁷ The situation, however, changed soon. On the death of Kṛishṇa I, a civil war broke out in the kingdom between his two sons, Gōvinda II and Dhruva; and the former, unable to cope with his rival, had to solicit the help of Vishṇuvardhana IV and the other hereditary enemies of his family. Nevertheless, he was vanquished and deposed; and the victorious Dhruva ascended the throne. It was to chastise Vishṇuvardhana IV for assisting his brother as well as to enforce his authority over him that Dhruva despatched an army under Arikēsari I whose estates bordered on the kingdom of Vēngi. The Eastern Chālukya inscriptions do not even remotely allude to the Rāshtrakūṭa invasions. However, their silence may be taken as confirming the truth of the statement in the records of the Lēmulaṅga chiefs that Arikēsari conquered Vēngi and Trikalīṅga. Vishṇuvardhana IV had to purchase peace by offering his daughter Śīlamahādēvī in marriage to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch.³⁸

Nothing more is known about Arikēsari's achievements. In the spurious Kolliparā plates he is spoken of as a learned prince proficient in grammar, *gaja-tantra*, logic, archery and medicine and distinguished by the titles *Samastalokāśraya*, *Tribhuvanamalla*, *Rāja-Triṇētra* and *Sāhsa-Rāma*. If Elēśvaram, the habitat of the donee, Mugdhaśivāchārya, was included in his territories, his authority must have extended over the Nalgaṇḍa district as well as the Rāmaḍu-Vishaya which was probably situated somewhere in the neighbourhood.

37. EI., VI, pp. 202-212.

38. EI., XXII, No. 17, pp. 98-109.

V

SŌLADA-GAṆḌA — BADDEGA

(A.D. 850-895)

Arikēsari I was succeeded by his son Narasimha I, and the latter was followed by his son Yuddhamalla II. These were shadowy rulers of whom nothing more than their names was considered worthy of remembrance even by their successors. Baddega surnamed *Sōlada-gaṇḍa* (the un-vanquished hero), the son and successor of Yuddhamalla II, was, however, a distinguished prince. He was the hero of forty-two battles. Of the enemies who suffered defeat at his hands, the most important was Bhīma whom he captured as if he seized a crocodile in water. This was, no doubt, Chālukya Bhīma I, the king of Vēngi, the nephew and the successor of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya who ruled from A.D. 848-892. The hostility between Baddega and Chālukya Bhīma I was partly the result of a family feud. As the loyal subjects of their Rāshtrakūṭa overlords, and the immediate neighbours of the Eastern Chālukyas, the Chālukya princes of Lēmulaṅga naturally played a prominent part in the Rāshtrakūṭa invasions of Vēngi. In the disastrous war, in which Kṛishṇa II suffered defeat and humiliation at the hands of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya, Baddega appears to have fallen into the hands of the enemy who takes credit for having offered him security.³⁹ This incident very probably happened during the advance of Paṇḍaranga into Dāhala at the head of the Eastern Chālukya army. Neither Baddega nor his master Kṛishṇa II forgave the Eastern Chālukyas. Nothing, of course, could be done to wipe off the disgrace of defeat so long as Vijayāditya III continued to rule. Their opportunity, however, came at last on the death of Vijayāditya in

39. cf. No. 26 of 1937-8; JAHRS., XI, p. 80 ff.

A.D. 892. Before Chālukya Bhīma, the son of Yuvarāja Vikramādityā and the heir-apparent could crown himself, rebellions incited by the princes of the collateral branches broke out in different parts of the kingdom; and Yuddhamalla, one of the dead king's younger brothers, was also perhaps implicated in it. And Kṛishṇa II eagerly seized the opportunity and invaded Vēngi ostensibly to help the rebel agnate princes but actually to impose his yoke on the people.

The Eastern Chālukya inscriptions of the time of Chālukya Bhīma I disclose that during his reign the Rāshtrakūṭa armies invaded Vēngi on two occasions at least. In the undated Koravi epigraph of Peddana, a subordinate of Kusumāyudha, one of the loyal feudatories of Chālukya Bhīma I, it is stated that Kannara Ballaha (i.e., Kṛishṇa II) invaded the kingdom of Vēngi and took possession of the estates of the Raṇamarddaka family; but Kusumāyudha soon reconquered from the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch his ancestral possessions; he then tied the necklace of royalty round Chālukya Bhīma's neck, celebrated his coronation and ruled over half of the kingdom which he obtained from him as a reward for his services.⁴⁰ This is indirectly corroborated by the evidence of Chālukya Bhīma I's Bezwada plates dated A.D. 892 in which Kusumāyudha is spoken of in appreciative terms and at whose instance that king granted an *agrahāra* to a Brahman on the occasion of his coronation.⁴¹ This invasion, however, does not appear to have penetrated into Vēngi proper, but affected only the frontier district and was soon turned back by Kusumāyudha and the other chiefs of the western marches.

The Veḍatalūru grant of Chālukya Bhīma I alludes to another invasion of Kṛishṇa II. The Rāshtrakūṭa army

40. Tel. Inscr. Itara. No. 12.

41. E.I., V, p. 127.

which came under a general called Guṇḍaya was accompanied by the Lāṭa forces. As soon as the Rāshtrakūṭa army made its appearance in Vēṅgi, the rebellious agnates of Chālukya Bhīma I threw off their allegiance and joined the invaders, who carried at first everything before them and penetrated into the heart of the kingdom. The Eastern Chālukya forces under prince Iramartī Gaṇḍa, the son of Chālukya Bhīma, rose to the occasion, and inflicted in two sanguinary battles, one at the village of Peruvangūru and another near Niravadyapura, crushing defeats over the Rāshtrakūṭas and compelled them to retreat into their own dominions. Iramarti-gaṇḍa, though a lad only of sixteen, covered himself with glory. He slew the Rāshtrakūṭa general Guṇḍaya, but at the moment of victory lost his own life on the battle-field of Niravadyapura.⁴²

Baddega must have accompanied the Rāshtrakūṭa armies during both the expeditions. No definite evidence is available to show on which of these two occasions he effected the capture of Bhīma. However, a simile employed by the Lēmūlavāḍa court writers in describing this incident discloses a valuable clue which may be helpful in ascertaining this fact. Baddega, both according to Pampa and the author of the Parabhani plates, is said to have captured Bhīma as if he seized a crocodile in water. Now, the significance of the simile lies in this :—Water is the natural element in which the crocodile flourishes, where it is pretty difficult to seize it. Similarly Bhīma's own country or capital (i.e., Vēṅgi) was his own natural environment in which it was equally hard to capture him. Therefore, Pampa and the author of the Parabhani plates definitely suggest by means of this simile that Baddega effected the capture of Bhīma in his own kingdom, if not in his capital itself. If this interpreta-

42. ARE., 1924, Part II, para 6, p. 84.

tion of the simile is not unreasonable, Baddega's exploit must have taken place in the second of the two expeditions mentioned above; for the first of them was confined only to the Raṇamarddaka country. It was only during the second expedition that the Rāshtrakūṭas succeeded in marching into the very heart of Vēngi, when Baddega could be said very appropriately to have captured Bhīma like a crocodile in water. Bhīma did not, however, long remain in captivity. He appears to have escaped while the war was still in progress, and resumed the government of his kingdom. Very little is known about the other events of Baddega's reign. No information is available about his other enemies or the circumstances in which he came into conflict with them. He appears to have died about A.D. 895 bequeathing his dominions to his son Yuddhamalla III.

VI

NARASIMHA II

(A.D. 915-930)

Yuddhamalla III appears to have been a peaceful prince, who took little or no interest in warfare. At any rate nothing is known about his activities. Narasimha II, his son and successor, was a person of different calibre. A powerful warrior and one of the great military leaders of the age, Narasimha left the impress of his personality on the annals of his day. His achievements are fully described by the writers of the Lēmulaṅḍa court. Briefly stated they are : (1) Narasimha conquered the Lāṭas; (2) reduced the Seven Mālavas to ashes, and exacted tribute from their vanquished rulers; (3) defeated Mahīpāla, king of the Gūrjaras in battle, and putting him to flight, subjugated the Gūrjara kingdom; and (4) vanquished the king of the Gūrjaras on the banks of the Ganges, bathed his horses in the waters of the river,

and set up his sword together with a stone pillar of victory at Kālapriya.

Both in Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* and Arikēsari II's Lēmūlavāḍa inscription from which the above information is extracted, Narasimha is said to have won single-handed all these victories on his own account. This is far from the truth. Narasimha II was not an independent sovereign. Like all his predecessors and successors, he was also a feudatory prince, owing allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs of Malkhed. On the strength of a verse in the introduction of Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*⁴³ in which it is said that Arikēsari II as a child had Indra's shoulder as his cradle, it has been suggested that Jākavve, the queen of Narasimha II and the mother of Arikēsari II was the sister of Indra III. The suggestion is not unpalausible, though positive proof is lacking. The statements in the Lēmūlavāḍa inscription and the Parabhani plates that Arikēsari II married two Rāshtrakūṭa princesses,—Rēvakanirmaḍi, the daughter of Indra III and Lōkām̐bikā of unspecified parentage,⁴⁴—show that the Lēmūlavāḍa chiefs had connubial relations with the Rāshtrakūṭa royal family and therefore the marriage of Narasimha II with a sister of Indra III is not inconceivable. However that may be, there is no room for doubt that the victories attributed to Narasimha II in the Lēmūlavāḍa records were all won by him in the service of his overlord. Most of these are, as a matter of fact, attributed to Indra III in the Cambay plates of his son and successor Gōvinda IV;⁴⁵ and there need be no hesitation in refer-

43. *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, 1: 44.

44. App. (C).

45. EI., VII, No. 6, V. 19.

Yan = mādyad = dvīpa-danta-ghāta-vishamaṁ Kālapriya-prāṅgaṇam
tīrṇāyat-turgair-agādha-yamunā-sindhu-prati-spardhinī |

Yen = ēdam hi Mahōday = āri-nagaram nirmūlam = unmīlitam
namnā-'dy = āpi janaiḥ Kuśasthālam-iti khyātīm param nīyate ||

ring all the events mentioned in these records to one and the same expedition in which Narasimha II assisted his overlord and brother-in-law to subjugate the countries of Central and Northern India.

The cause of the invasion was rooted in the past; it was but a manifestation of the hereditary rivalry between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gūrjara-Pratihāra kings of Kanauj for ascendancy over Malwa.⁴⁶ During the last years of Kṛishṇa II Mahīpāla not only conquered several states including Malwa dependent on the Rāshtrakūṭas, but attacked Kuntala, the cradle of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchy. Indra III therefore had to concert measures, soon after his accession to the throne, to re-establish his power over Malwa and other countries and chastise Mahīpāla for invading his dominions.

Indra's invasion appears to have begun some time before his coronation in February A.D. 915; for, the Nausari plates issued on the occasion of his *paṭṭa-bandha* at Kurundhaka refer to certain events which could have taken place only during his expedition against Mahōdaya. He is said to have sacked Mēru, inflicted defeat on a chief called Upēndra and captured the fort of Gōvardhana. The identity of Mēru is not definitely established; but Upēndra, as pointed out by Altekar, was the Parmāra chief, Kṛishṇarāja, who was also known as Upēndrarāja, and the fort of Gōvardhana where he suffered defeat at the hands of Indra III was situated in

From this it is evident (1) that the court-yard of the temple of Kālapriya became uneven by the strokes of the tusks of Indra's elephants; (2) that he crossed the river Jamna; and (3) that he destroyed the enemy's city Mahōdaya which came to be known as a consequence as Kuśasthali. The incidents enumerated here are the same as those described in the *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* and the Lēmulavāḍa inscription, though they, especially the former, narrate all the events of the expedition more fully.

46. See App., on Rāshtrakūṭa Gūrjara-Pratihāra relations.

the neighbourhood of Nasik.⁴⁷ Upēndra was a Gūrjara. It is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of Mahīpāla; he did not however attack Gōvardhana at the instance of his sovereign as stated by Altekar, but was posted there to keep the neighbouring territory under control. Among the countries conquered by Mahīpāla were Kuntala, Kēraḷa and Murala, besides a number of others. Kuntala was the home territory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Raṭṭapāḍi seven-and-half lakh country of the Chōḷa inscriptions, embracing Bijāpūr, North-Kanara, Dharwar, Raichur, Bellary and parts of the Anantapur district; Kēraḷa was situated to the south of Konkan; and Muralas were the people inhabiting the country on the banks of the Murala river in North Konkan.⁴⁸ Kṛishṇa II, who must have been an old man, appears to have entrusted the task of driving out the invaders to the crown-prince Indra III. The campaign began brilliantly. The Gūrjara-Pratihāras were driven out from Kēraḷa, Kuntala and Mahārāshṭra. It had to be suspended temporarily, owing to the death of Kṛishṇa II; and Indra had to return to the capital to celebrate his coronation.

As soon as the coronation was over, the campaign against Mahīpāla was resumed. Following the order of events as described in Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* and the Lēmulaṅḍa inscription, Lāṭa appears to have been the first country to fall to the Rāshtrakūṭa arms. This country frequently changed hands between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gūrjara-Pratihāras, owing to their conflicting territorial ambitions. Dantidurga took it from the Gūrjara-Pratihāras; and it was taken back by them during the temporary collapse of the Rāshtrakūṭa power following his death. It was reconquered by Gōvinda III, who entrusted its administration to his younger brother Indra. During the long reign of Amō-

47. *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 100-101.

48. E.I. p. 271.

ghavarsha I, it was governed by Indra's descendants. The Gūrjara-Pratihāra Bhōja I wrested it from the Rāshtrakūṭas early during the reign of Kṛishṇa II, who soon recovered it about A.D. 888, inflicting on Mahēndrapāla I a crushing defeat in the battle of Ujjain.⁴⁹ Mahipāla appears to have reconquered the country from the Rāshtrakūṭas, though it is not included in the list of the countries said to have been subjugated by him. It was only natural that Indra should seek to recover it first. The details of the warfare are not recorded; but as Narasimha II is said to have effected its conquest, it may be assumed that the Gūrjara-Pratihāra forces were worsted in the struggle and compelled to leave the country. Malwa, which was next subjugated, was divided at the time, like Konkan, Kalinga and some other countries in India, into seven divisions, known collectively together as the *Sapta-Mālavas*. Each of them appears to have been under the sway of a separate chief. The Seven Mālavas were devastated; their chiefs were also defeated, compelled to submit to Indra and enrol themselves among his *sāmantas* paying him annual tribute. Having brought Malwa thoroughly under control, Narasimha II proceeded at the head of the Rāshtrakūṭa army to Kalpi on the banks of the Jumna, where Mahipāla, who came with his forces to oppose the Rāshtrakūṭas, was encamped in the temple of Kālapriya.⁵⁰ The Rāshtrakūṭa army laid siege to the temple, their elephants demolished the walls of the *prākāra*, and tore off the flags of the pavement of the courtyard, thereby making the floor

49. I.A., XIII, pp. 63, 68.

50. Kālapriya is generally taken to be the same as the shrine of Mahākāla at Ujjain. On the strength of this identification, it is presumed that Indra met Mahipāla at Ujjain in battle and defeated him; but this is not supported by the available evidence. Although Altekar subscribes to the general view that Kālapriya is the same as Ujjain, he draws attention to certain facts which militate against it. In the first place, in the Cambay plates (E.I. VII. No. 6. v. 19)

uneven. A sanguinary fight ensued. Unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Mahīpāla fled in distress precipitately without daring to halt, eat and sleep in any place twice hotly pursued by Narasimha II at the head of his cavalry. The progress of the Rāshtrakūṭa army from Kālapriya to Kanauj appears to have been uneventful. Mahīpāla could not probably muster sufficient courage to check their advance. They reached Kanauj soon and sacked the

Indra is said to have crossed with his cavalry the river Jumna as soon as his must elephants made uneven by the strokes of their tusks the court-yard of the Kālapriya (temple). It appears from this that the temple of Kālapriya mentioned in the record stood somewhere on the bank of the Jumna. Secondly, there still stands at Kalpi (corruption of Kālapriya) on the southern bank of the Jumna on the direct line of advance of the Rāshtrakūṭa armies from Malkhed to Mahōdaya, a temple dedicated to the God Kālapriya. And lastly as Ujjain did not lie on the direct route of Indra's armies, the identification of Kālapriya with Ujjain is based on uncertain grounds. (*Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 102, n. 44). The last objection need not be taken seriously, as it is not insuperable. The Rāshtrakūṭa armies did not march straight upon Mahōdaya from Malkhed as Altekar would have us believe. According to Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* and the Lēmulavāḍa inscription, Narasimha II, the commander-in-chief of the Rāshtrakūṭa armies, was engaged in the conquest of Lāṭa and the Seven Mālavas. It is not impossible that he passed through Ujjain on his way to Kalpi. The real difficulty arises from the absence of a shrine dedicated to God Kālapriya at Ujjain. There is, of course, the famous Mahākāla temple at Ujjain; but Mahākāla and Kālapriya are two different deities, though both of them are forms of Śiva. The term Kālapriya denotes not only the name of the deity but also that of the place where the temple of the God stands. Ujjain had never been known as Kālapriya. This together with the fact that there stands at Kalpi the temple of Kālapriya on the southern bank of the Jumna points to Kalpi rather than Ujjain as the place of the battle. It is reasonable to suppose that this was the place where the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra army under Mahīpāla opposed the march of Indra into the Jumna-Gangetic doab and suffered defeat.

city. Narasimha II watered his horses in the Ganges, and returned with the army to Kālapriya, where he erected a pillar of stone eulogizing his own martial deeds.⁵¹

Indra's expedition was a brilliant feat of arms. He did not desire to occupy the Jumna-Gangetic doab and establish his authority there. The main object of the expedition was the expulsion of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra forces from the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions; the recovery of Lāṭa, Malwa and other countries that were dependent on them and the devastation of the home territory of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king by way of reprisal. This was fully accomplished; and the Rāshtrakūṭa armies returned in triumph to their native land. The success of the expedition was in no small measure due to Narasimha II's military genius. He was undoubtedly a great commander who could not only plan an expedition but carry it to success with consummate skill. Judging from what is said of him in the records of his family, he appears to have been the organizer of Indra III's Kanauj expedition as well as the general who led the Rāshtrakūṭa armies from victory to victory. No wonder Pampa and the *praśasti* writer of the Lēmulaṅḍa court lose themselves in their admiration of his heroic deeds.

VII

ARIKĒSARI II

(A.D. 930-955)

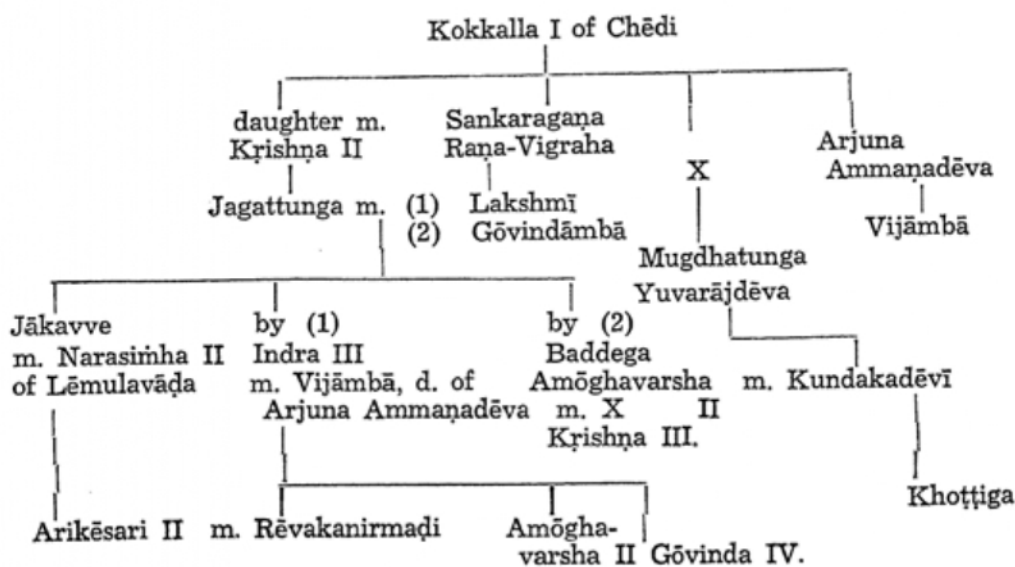
Narasimha II was succeeded by his son Arikēsari II about A.D. 930. He was more closely related to the Rāshtrakūṭa royal family than his father. That he was the son of Jākavve who was most probably a sister of Indra III,

51. EI. VII. No. 6, V., *Vikr. Vij.* 1: 36-38, *Tel. Ins. Itara*, No. 20, V. 9.

that he grew up in childhood under the care of that monarch and that he married two Rāshtrakūṭa princesses,—Rēva-kanirmaḍi, the daughter of Indra III and Lōkāmbikā, another daughter of the royal family—have already been noticed. Rēva-kanirmaḍi must have been a sister or half-sister of Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV, the sons of Indra III, who succeeded him one after the other on the throne. The following facts about Arikēsari are known from the records of his family. (1) He gave asylum at his court to the Chālukya Vijayāditya or Bijja, who incurred the displeasure of Gōvindarāja and protected him from his wrath. (2) He defeated in battle and put to flight a *mahā-sāmanta* whom Gojjiga, the emperor of all the people sent against him at the head of a large army. (3) He gave asylum to Baddegadēva, and when the emperor, having been enraged at this, came upon him with his forces, he overthrew him and gave the empire to Baddegadēva and (4) when an *ankakāra* of Bappuva, the younger brother of Kakkala, attacked him, he vanquished and drove him away single-handed.

Of the personages, with whom Arikēsari II is said to have had dealings, Gōvindarāja or the Sakala Chakravarti Gojjiga and Baddegadēva are the most important; for they are identical with Gōvinda IV (A.D. 929-935) and his paternal uncle and successor Amōghavarsha III (935-939) respectively. To understand clearly the facts mentioned about them and the part played by Arikēsari II in their affairs, it is necessary to have a peep into the history of the Rāshtrakūṭa royal family and its relations with the Haihaya kings of Chēdi. Kṛishṇa II, it may be remembered, married a daughter of Kokkala I of Chēdi, and to them was born a son called Jagattunga; and he married Lakshmī and Gōvindāmbā, the two daughters of his maternal uncle Śankara-ṛaṇavighraha, and begot by Lakshmī a son called Indra and by Gōvindāmbā another, Baddega by name. Indra married Vijāmbā, a daughter of Arjuna-Ammaṇadēva,

a grandson of Kokkalla I, and obtained from her two sons Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV and probably also a daughter Rēvakanirmaḍi who became the wife of Arikēsari II. Baddega, the half-brother of Indra took to wife Kundakadēvī, a daughter of Mugdhatunga-Yuvarājdēva, one of Kokkalla I's grandsons, and had by her a son called Khoṭṭiga. Baddega had also an elder son, Kṛishṇa by name; but the name of his mother is not known, though she was also a daughter of the Haihaya kings of Chēdi.⁵²



Indra III died in A.D. 928 or 929; and he was succeeded by his eldest son Amōghavarsha II; but after a short reign of about one year, he is believed to have been murdered by

52. EI IV, p. 287 f. V. 25.

*Rāma-hata-sahasra-bhujō bhuja-dvay-ākalita samada
Rāmēṇa*

Jananī-patnī-gurur-api yēna Sahasrārjunō vijitaḥ ||

his younger brother Gōvinda IV, who usurped the throne. The latter, however, could not rule in peace the kingdom which he thus obtained through assassination owing, it is said, to his immoral character and wickedness of disposition. This view, though accepted generally, cannot be taken to be unbiassed as it is based exclusively on the testimony of his enemies. The real cause of the trouble was the ambition of his paternal uncle Baddega, and more especially of Baddega's son Kṛishṇa, both of whom had designs on the throne since the accession of Gōvinda IV. Though nothing definite is known about their early activities, the fact that they were obliged to take refuge in the court of Yuvarājadēva at Tripurī⁵³ shows that they were exiled from the kingdom by Gōvinda IV who must have had reasons to suspect their loyalty. Exile proved very serviceable to them; for, they could carry on their intrigues with unrestricted freedom and gather around them all the discontented elements in the kingdom. Tripurī became a convenient centre from which they could foment rebellion against Gōvinda IV. Besides the Western Ganga prince Būtuga, who was desirous of supplanting his elder brother Rājamalla III, their principal adherents were the Chālukya princes of the Telugu country who seem to have entered into some sort of an alliance with them with the object of overthrowing Gōvinda IV and enthroning his paternal uncle Baddega. Why Arikēsari II, who married a sister or half-sister of Gōvinda, rose against him and joined his enemies is not easy to explain. The Chālukyas of Mudigoṇḍa owed allegiance to their cousins of Vēṅgi; and their defiance of Gōvinda was perhaps an offshoot of

53. EI. III. p. 180 (The Sudi plates).

*Tasy-ānujo nija-bhuj-ārjjita sampad-ārthō
bhūvallabham sam-upagamya Dahāḷa-dēśē
Śrī Baddegam tad-anu tasya sutam saha-iva
vākkanyayā vyavahad-uttama-dhīs-Tripuryām.*

the war of independence that was then raging in that country. Gōvinda IV conquered Vēngi soon after his accession and virtually annexed it to his kingdom. He found a willing tool in Yuddhamalla II, a pretender to the throne of Vēngi, and under the guise of helping him to regain the throne lost by his father, Tāla I, he invaded the country, and having reduced it to subjection, left a small tract to Yuddhamalla II and distributed the rest among his officers and nobles. The condition of the country after its conquest by Gōvinda IV is thus described in the Māngallu grant of Amma II: 'The kingdom was (then) apportioned among themselves by the Śabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha army and others for seven years, during which the weak and contemptible Mallarāja (Yuddhamalla II) was crowned king.'⁵⁴ The authority neither of Yuddhamalla nor of his overlord Gōvinda IV was recognized throughout the country. Several princes of the Eastern Chālukyan family repudiated it and set up the standard of revolt. Of these, Chālukya Bhīma II, Rājamārttāṇḍa and Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya were the most important. Owing to mutual jealousy and rivalry, they could not at first prevail against Yuddhamalla II and the Rāshṭrakūṭa nobles and commanders stationed in different parts of the country. Soon, however, by dint of his ability, Chālukya Bhīma II, a grandson of Chālukya Bhīma I, rose to prominence. He put some of his rivals to death, drove others into exile and pitted himself against Yuddhamalla II and his Rāshṭrakūṭa allies. They could not cope with him. Realising the danger of the situation Gōvinda IV despatched an army under Rājamayya assisted by several officers and nobles. They seem to have overrun on their way the Mudu-ḡoṇḍa Chālukya territory in the western marches of the kingdom of Vēngi, and sent its chief Bijja or Vijayāditya flying to the court of his neighbour Arikēsari II for protec-

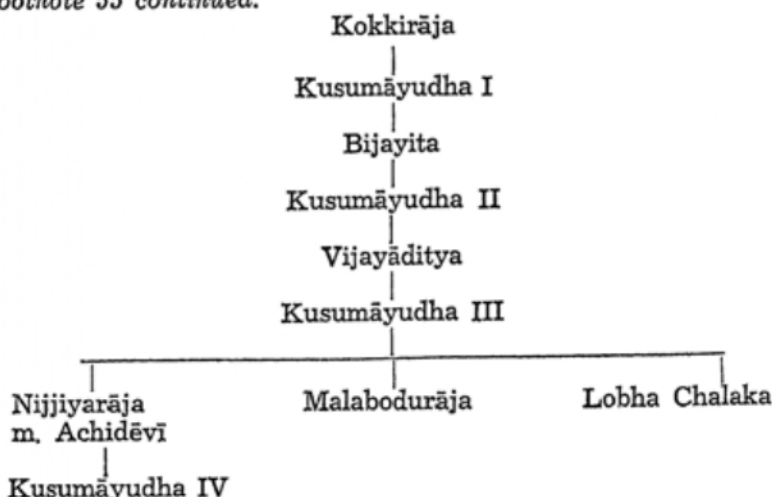
54. ARE. cp. 1 of 1916-17.

tion.⁵⁵ The details of the Rāshtrakūṭa campaign in Vēngi are not recorded; but it ended in a terrible disaster. Chālukya Bhīma II, according to the Kaluchambarru grant of his son, Amma II, 'slew unaided the glorious Rājamayya, and Dhaḷaga who excelled far and wide, the fierce Tāta Bikki, Bijja who was always ready for war, and the excessively

55. Opinion differs about the identity of Bijja or Vijayāditya, whom Arikēsari II is said to have rescued from the wrath of Gōvindarāja. That he was a Chālukya is made clear by Pampa's statement *Chālukya-kula-tila-kan-appa Vijayādityange* (*Vikr. Vij.* 9, prose passage between vv. 52 and 53). That does not however solve the problem of his identity. Fleet thought that he was Kollabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya IV of Vēngi (*D.K.D.*, p. 381). This is impossible; for Vijayāditya IV succeeded his father Chālukya-Bhīma I in A.D. 922 and died at Viraja while leading an expedition in Kalinga in the course of the same year, after a rule of only six months. (*The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngi*, pp. 152-56), whereas Bijja's rebellion took place in 934-5 immediately before the fall of Gōvinda IV. The case of another Chālukya prince, Bēta-Vijayāditya or Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya, son of Amma I, who ruled over Vēngi after his father for a period of fifteen days in A.D. 927-8, must also be considered in this context. The opinion of Śrī B. V. Krishna Rao may be noted here with advantage. 'The Eastern Chālukya records do not call him Bijja, but call him Bēta-Vijayāditya. And he does not appear to have offended Gojjiga. Nor was he his vassal as Bijja appears to be' (*JAHRS*, VI, p. 176). Although Śrī Krishna Rao has thus stated his reasons for discounting the possibility of Bijja's identity with Bēta-Vijayāditya, he makes no attempt to find out who he was. Besides the Chālukyas of Vēngi and Lēmula-vāḍa there was yet another branch of the family ruling over Mañchi-koṇḍa-Vishaya, corresponding to a large part of the Warangal district of Hyderabad State, which lay between Vēngi and the territories of Lēmulavāḍa. They are usually spoken of as the Mudugoṇḍa Chālukyas, and the following genealogy of the family is disclosed in the Mogalucheru grant of Kusumāyudha IV, assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh century A.D. (*I.A.* XXXII, pp. 281-84).

powerful Ayyapa, terrible and savage, and the extremely great army sent by King Gōvinda, and Lōva Bikki, the ruler of the Chōḷas and the valorous Yuddhamalla—all of them

Footnote 55 continued.



If we suppose that the donor of the grant flourished say about A.D. 1050, allowing twenty-five years for one generation, the chronology of the princes of the family may be tentatively formulated as follows:

(1)	Kokkirāja	..	865-890
(2)	Kusumāyudha I	..	890-915
(3)	Bijayita	..	915-940
(4)	Kusumāyudha II	..	940-965
(5)	Vijayāditya	..	965-990
(6)	Kusumāyudha III	..	990-1015
(7)	Nijjiyarāja	..	1015-1040
(8)	Kusumayudha IV	..	1040-1065

Assuming this chronological scheme to be roughly accurate, Bijayita was ruling over the Mañchikoṇḍa-Vishaya during the reign of Gōvinda IV (930-935). The evidence of the Bezvada plates of Chālukya Bhīma I, dated A.D. 892 confirms this chronology. Kusumāyudha, I, the father of Bijayita, was one of the faithful *sāmantas* of the king, who granted at his instance, on the occasion of his coronation, the village of Kūkiparṛu to the brahman Pōtamayya (E.I., V. p. 127). The undated Koravi epigraph also refers

possessed of marshalled elephants'.⁵⁶ If this is a true representation of facts, the large army sent by Gōvinda IV to Vēngi must have been utterly annihilated. About the same time as the Vēngi expedition or a little later, Gōvinda sent another army under the noble Paṇḍyārya accompanied by several *sāmantas* and commanders against Arikēsari II to chastise him for having given asylum at his court to the Mudugoṇḍa Chālukya Bijja; but it met with no better success; for both in the Lēmulavāḍa inscription and the *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* it is clearly stated that Arikēsari II overthrew his army in battle. This battle practically sealed the fate of Gōvinda IV; for Arikēsari, who knew that Gōvinda would again come against him with greater force than before, resolved to strengthen his hands by inviting Baddega, to come to Lēmulavāḍa and join him in overthrowing Gōvinda. He expected Baddega to bring with him the auxiliary force, which his father-in-law Yuvarājadēva was sure to send with him, to gain the throne. In this he was not disappointed; for, Baddega who gladly accepted the invitation arrived soon at Lēmulavāḍa accompanied by his son Kṛishṇa and also probably by his son-in-law Būtuga. What exactly hap-

to Kusumāyudha who helped Chālukya-Bhīma I to repel the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion under Kṛishṇa II; and records the gift of an unnamed eldest son of the chief, probably of Bijayita himself (*Tel. Ins. Itar. No. 12*). We need not therefore hesitate to accept the contemporaneity of Kusumāyudha I and Chālukya-Bhīma I. Bijja, rescued by Arikēsari II, was none other than Bijayita (*Vijayāditya*), the son of this Kusumāyudha. The territory extending from Koṇḍapalli in the Kṛishṇa district to Koṛavi in the Warangal district, which included the Mañchikoṇḍa-Vishaya, was under his sway. To the west of his territory was situated the dominion of the Lēmulavāḍa chiefs and to the east and the south the kingdom of Vēngi. Like Arikēsari II and the E. Chālukya Yuddhamalla II he was also a feudatory of Gōvinda IV.

56. E.I., VII, p. 190.

pened after their arrival is not known. Probably they were joined by the insurgents; and at last they met Gōvinda IV in battle and having inflicted a crushing defeat on him drove him out of the kingdom.⁵⁷ Baddega then assumed the title of Amōghavarsha III and ascended the throne left vacant by the flight of his nephew.

One other incident narrated by Pampa indicates that the military activity of Arikēsari II continued even after the accession of Amōghavarsha III. His reign was by no means peaceful. Many of the great feudatories were not over-friendly; and some were actively hostile. But for the strong arm of the heir apparent Kṛishṇa and the powerful support of feudatories like Arikēsari II, he would not have been able to maintain his authority. Kakkala and his younger brother Bappuva whose *ankakāra* Arikēsari II is said to have defeated⁵⁸ must have been active opponents of Amōghavarsha III. Their identity is not however definitely known. Dr. Barnett is of opinion that Kakkala mentioned by Pampa was the same as the last Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kakkala II;⁵⁹ and Sri B. V. Krishna Rao accepts his view.⁶⁰ This is impossible, for Kakkala came to power in A.D. 972, whereas Arikēsari's

57. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao is of opinion that Gōvinda IV was killed in the battle. 'The Rāshtrakūṭa king, Gojjiga', says he, 'personally marched at the head of a large army against the insubordinate vassal chiefs to punish them; but in the battle that followed he was himself defeated and killed' (JAHS. VI. p. 184). This is evidently based on Pampa's words, *Chakravartiyam-kidisi* which need not necessarily mean that he killed the emperor; it may simply mean that he ruined him. The records of Gōvinda's chief queen, Vīramādēviyār show that 'Gōvinda, unable to face the strong party of his enemies fled to the court of his father-in-law, Parāntaka I, (E.I. XXVI, p. 232)'.

58. *Vikra. Vij.* 9, Prose passage between vv. 52 and 53.

59. E.I. XIII, p. 329.

60. JAHS. VI p. 184.

encounter with Bappuva's *ankakāra* must have taken place soon after the accession of Amōghavarsha III. Therefore, as pointed out by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Kakkala mentioned here would not have been the last Rāshtrakūṭa ruler, who came much later';⁶¹ but it is doubtful whether he could have been the 'Karkara mentioned in an unpublished Śilāhara grant as having been overthrown by Amōghavarsha III', as suggested by him;⁶² for, there is no evidence to show that this Karkara had a brother of the name of Bappuva. It is interesting to note that Kṛishṇa III, according to the Deoli plates dated A.D. 940, slew a chief of the name Bappuka who obviously opposed his father.⁶³ Bappuka is a variant of Bappuva and he might have been the person whose *ankakāra* suffered defeat at the hands of Arikēsari II. Bapuka, however, is not known to have had an elder brother named Kakkala. Therefore, his identification with Arikēsari's enemy rests on no surer foundation than his identification with Karkara of the unpublished Śilāhara copper-plate. Though nothing is known of the circumstances in which Bappuva came into conflict with Arikēsari, he was in all likelihood an enemy of Amōghavarsha III; and while attempting to oppose Amōghavarsha's rule, he was overthrown by Arikēsari II, who was perhaps commissioned by his overlord to suppress him.

Arikēsari II was perhaps the most remarkable personage of his family. Though not a military genius like his father, he was a good soldier and capable commander who won the esteem of his contemporaries. He possessed considerable diplomatic skill; the success of the confederacy which dethroned Gōvinda IV was in no small measure due to him; and Pampa's assertion that he 'bestowed the universal

61. Madras University Journal, XV. 2, p. 124.

62. Ibid.

63. JBBRAS, XVIII, p. 247.

empire on Baddegadēva, who came putting trust in him',⁶⁴ clearly indicates the extent to which Amōghavarsha III was indebted to him for the throne.

The Lēmūlavāḍa inscription enumerates a number of titles of Arikēsari II, such as Pāmbārāṅkuśam, Ammanagandhavāraṇam, Gandhēbha-Vidyādharām, Ārūḍha-Sarvajñan, Udāttanārāyaṇan, Noḍutti-gelvōm, Guṇanidhi, Guṇārṇava, Śaraṇāgata-vajrapañjara, Priyagaḷla, Tribhuvanamalla and Sāmanta-Chūḍāmaṇi.⁶⁵ Most of these occur in the *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* also; but with the exception perhaps of Tribhuvanamalla which became famous later under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi they are devoid of historical interest. The names of two officers of Arikēsari, Guṇāṁkuśa and Peddaṇārya—one a *sandhi-vigrahi* and another a *tantrapāla*—both of whom must have helped him in his wars, are mentioned in the Lēmūlavāḍa inscription. The reason for introducing the name of Guṇāṁkuśa, the *sandhi-vigrahi*, which is generally taken to mean "the minister of peace and war" is not quite apparent.⁶⁶ Peddaṇārya was the king's

64. *Vik. Vij.* 9. prose passage between, vv. 52-53.

65. App. C.

66. This is not perhaps the correct interpretation of the term. "sandhi" and "vigraha", no doubt mean 'peace' and 'war' respectively. But in all the inscriptions where the *sandhi-vigrahis* are mentioned they are not known to have had any connection with the ministry of war and peace. They figure mostly, if not invariably, as the composers of the inscriptions, in which they are mentioned. Probably the terms 'sandhi' and 'vigraha' must be understood in their grammatical sense. *sandhi-vigrahi* is perhaps no more than a person well versed in the grammatical rules of "sandhi" and "vigraha", and proficient in the art of literary composition. A verse from Jinasēna's *Pūrvapurāṇa* may be noted here (Ch. XXX. V. 11).

Sandhi-vigraha-chint = āsya pada-vidyā svabhūt = param dhūṭayād-anya-pakshasya kva sandhānam kva vigrahaḥ.

trantrapāla (minister of the army) and the donor of the gift registered in the Lēmūlavāḍa inscription. He was the son of Nāgamārya, the *tantrapāla* of king Baddigadēva⁶⁷ at whose request the king granted some land to the temple of the Sun built by him at Lēmūlavāḍa.

VIII

VĀGARĀJA AND ARIKĒSARI III

(A.D. 955-973)

Arikēsari II had two sons, Vāgārāja and Bhadrādēva or Baddega. The former who succeeded his father was ruling the kingdom in A.D. 959. He was a feudatory of Kṛishṇa III and accompanied that monarch during his southern expedition to Mēlpāḍi in the Chittoor district.⁶⁸ Nothing more is

The Kannaḍa commentator observes: 'Bharata-rājarige-sandhiya-chinte-yū vighrahada-chinteyū mukhyav=āgi vyākaraṇa-sāstragal=all=iddevu. 'Sandhiyu yuddhavu iral=illav=end=arthavu; śatru-paksha-vannu nāśa-māḍid-avanige sandhi yelli? yuddhav=elli?

67. Prof K. A. Nilakanta Sastri depending on the misreading of the text by Dr. M. Ramarao and Śrī B. V. Krishna Rao opined that Peddaṇārya was the *sattrapāla*, that is the superintendent of the *sattra* or the feeding house of the king; and that Baddega was not the Lēmūlavāḍa chief of that name but Baddega-Amōghavarsha III, the sovereign-lord of Arikēsari III (JMU. XV. No. 2, p. 125); but the ll. 85-86 of the inscription which describe the descent of Peddaṇa read clearly as:

Śrīmān sudhīr=Baddega-bhūmibhartus=ta[n].
tr=ādhipālō='jani Nāgamāryyaḥ.

It is most likely that Baddega mentioned here was the Lēmūlavāḍa chief Sōlada-gaṇḍa Baddega and not Amōghavarsha III. The office of the *tantrapāla* appears to have been hereditary in the family of Peddaṇārya.

68. *Sōmadēva's Yaśastilaka—Kavyamāla*, No. 70, p. 419.

known about his activities. Vāgarāja seems to have died without issue. His younger half-brother, Bhadrādēva, the son of Arikēsari II and Lōkāmbikā, seems to have predeceased him; for he was succeeded not by his younger brother but by the latter's son Arikēsari III. He also flourished under Kṛishṇa III. Nothing, however, is known about the events of his rule excepting that he issued in A.D. 966 the Parabhani plates registering a gift of the village of Kuttumvṛitti-Vanikaṭupalu in the midst of Rēpāka-Twelve in the Sabbi Thousand to Sōmadēvasūri for the white-washing, repairs etc., of the *Śubhadhāma-jinālaya* built by Baddegadēva, the father of the king. He had several titles such as Pāmbārāṅkuśaṁ, Ammana-gandha-vāraṇam, Gandhēbha-Vidyādharāṁ, Ārūḍha-Sarvajñāṁ, Udātta-nārāyaṇaṁ, Noḍutti-gelvōm, Guṇanidhi, Guṇārṇava. Śaraṇāgata-vajra-pañjara, Priyagaḷla, Tribhuvanamalla and Sāmanta-Chūḍāmaṇi.⁶⁹ These signify nothing, as they were all inherited by him from his grandfather. How long he continued to rule after this date it is not easy to ascertain. The rule of his family appears to have been overthrown by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi soon afterwards. An unpublished epigraph at Uppili in the Maktal taluk of the Mahboobnagar district of a Chālukya king of Kalyāṇi, whose name is unfortunately lost, dated Śaka 888 (A.D. 966-67);⁷⁰ and another, at Koraprōlu in the Nalgonda district, of Sōma Perumāḍi, an *ankakāra* of Āhavamalla (Taila II) dated Śaka 895 (A.D. 973-4),⁷¹ clearly show that between A.D. 966 and 973, Telingana passed into the hands of Taila II. It is obvious that by that time the rule of the Chālukyas of Lēmūlavāḍa must have come to an end.

69. App. D.

70. Tel. Ins. Ch. No. 9. (second edition, under preparation).

71. Tel. Ins. Ch. No. 41.

IX

RELIGION, ARCHITECTURE AND LITERATURE

The inscriptions of the Lēmūlavāḍa chiefs, and the literature produced at their court embody much valuable information about religion, society, art and letters which a historian can ill afford to neglect. They do not, however, enable us to ascertain the personal faith of the rulers, owing to their tendency to extend their patronage, in accordance with the principles of *rājadharma* on which they were nurtured, to all the religious communities in their territory alike; but give us a glimpse into the religious life of the people over whom they bore sway. Śaivism and Jainism were dominant, though other forms of faith, such as Sun-worship and Vaiṣṇavism were not unknown. Religious life centred round temples and the *maṭhas* or monasteries attached to them. The Kollipāra plates of Arikēsari I refer to a Kālāmukha *maṭha* at Elēśvaram, the northern gate of the Śrīśāla mountain, and its spiritual head Mugdhaśivāchārya, a pupil of the famous divine Sadyaśśivāchārya.⁷² The Lēmūlavāḍa inscription of Arikēsari II mentions, Mallikārjuna, Vyakti-lingi, Vidyārāśi, and Vyākhyāni Bhaṭṭāraka, the *sthānādhipatis* of the four principal shrines, the Rājēśvara, Ādityagṛiha, Baddegēśvara and Nagarēśvara respectively, at the capital Lēmūlavāḍa,⁷³ and a sage of the Thātaviya lineage who is spoken of as a *paṇḍita* and *munīśvara*. The last mentioned was the *sthānādhishṭhāyaka* of the *sūristhāna*. These *maṭhas* were not merely the abodes of the monks who devoted themselves to ascetic practices and contemplation. They had usually a *sattrā* or feeding house and a hospital attached to them, where the poor and the destitute were fed and the sick were given free medical aid. The *maṭhas* were also

72. Apendix A.

73. „ C.

seats of learning, where pupils were taught the arts and sciences. Gifts of land and money were made to them frequently for the purpose of imparting education. The village of Belmoga in the Rāmaḍu-Vishaya was given to Mugdhaśivāchārya, the head of the Kālāmukha *maṭha* at Elēśvaram, as *vidyā-dāna* or gift for imparting education.⁷⁴ The *basadis* or the Jaina temples were not behind the Hindu places of worship. Each *basadi* had a monastery, where the monks devoted themselves to meditation and the practices of asceticism; but they did not dissociate themselves from the life of the Jaina community to whose spiritual needs they catered. The Jaina monasteries like those of other sects were seats of learning where the monks taught the lay disciples all the branches of knowledge known at that time. Frequent changes of faith were common as they did not involve the loss of caste. The Jainas recognised the four-fold caste system. There were among the Jainas, as among the followers Brahmanic *dharma*, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras, and therefore, conversion from one faith to another did not entail the loss of social status.

Architecture:—No secular monument erected by the Chālukyas of Lēmulaṽḍa has survived to the present day; nor any account describing the palaces and other structures has come down to us. But some of the temples which they built in their capital, the Rājēśvara and the Baddegēśvara, for instance, still remain in a comparatively good state of preservation and an examination of these are likely to reveal the style and other peculiarities of the architecture in vogue at that time. The Rājēśvara and the Baddegēśvara were obviously so named either because they were built by Rājāditya (a *biruḍa* of Narasimha I) and Baddega respectively or named after them. Some of the Jaina religious foundations owed their existence to the

bounty of the members of the royal family. The Śubhadhāma-jinālaya at Lēmūlavāḍa for instance was built by Baddega II, the father of Arikēsari III.⁷⁵ Two other temples, the Āditya-griha and the Nagarēśvara are referred to as two of the four *sthānas* in the capital. The former was built, as stated in the Lēmūlavāḍa epigraph by Peddaṇārya, the *tantrapāla* of Arikēsari II; and the latter was the shrine of the mercantile community. The Lēmūlavāḍa chiefs are thus seen to have been great builders. A monumental survey of the area over which they ruled may bring to light some other structures which owe their existence to them.

Literature:—The Chālukeyas of Lēmūlavāḍa deserve to be remembered specially for their service to literature. Arikēsari II and his descendants were munificent patrons of letters, who encouraged poets and scholars. Pampa, the greatest of the Kannaḍa poets, flourished at the court of the former. He was an Āndhra Brāhman by birth, a native of Veṅgiparu in Kamma-nāḍu (Vangipuram in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district) and a Jaina by faith. He appears to have migrated in search of patronage to the court of Arikēsari II at Lēmūlavāḍa in Telingana, where he was received warmly and entertained in the service of the king as a commander in the army. He composed two masterpieces. The *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* popularly known as the *Pampa Bhāratam* in which he describes in eloquent verse the story of the *Mahābhārata* and dedicated it to his patron. The second poem of Pampa, the *Ādipurāṇam* is a work of different character. It is a religious poem in which he

75. An inscription on the pedestal of a Jaina image in the compound of the Rājārājēśvara temple at Vēmūlavāḍa (ARE. 158 of 1946-47) states that king Baddega II built a *jinālaya* for his teacher, Sōmadēvasūri of *Gauḷa-saṁgha*. It is not unlikely that the *jinālaya* referred to in this record is identical with the Śubhadhāma-jinālaya mentioned above.

narrates with the object of propagating his faith, 'the story of the Jaina Tirthankaras'. Pampa is without doubt a great poetic genius; he is a master of epic poetry, and his style suits the grandeur of his theme. In portraiture of character, naturalness of description, consummate skill of narration, and spontaneous flow of verse, he has few equals.

Another great writer who flourished under the aegis of the Chālukyas of Lēmūlavāḍa was the famous Jaina author, and theologian Sōmadēvasūri. He was perhaps a north Indian Jain who came down to Lēmūlavāḍa during the time of Vāgarāja and settled down there. He wrote his *Yaśastilaka* in A.D. 959 while his patron was camping with his overlord Kṛṣṇa III at Mēlpāḍi in the Chittoor district.⁷⁶ Sōmadēva survived his patron, and lived at least until A.D. 966, when he received, probably, as the *sthānāpati* of the Śubhadhāma Jinālaya, the gift of the village of Kuttumvṛitti-Vanikaṭupalu from his late patron's nephew and successor Arikēsari III. He was perhaps the spiritual preceptor of the royal family, and appears to have used his position to promote the interest of his church. Sōmadēva was a great Sanskrit writer. Besides his famous *Yaśastilaka Champu*, he wrote many other works including a treatise on *rājanīti* called the *Nīti-Vākyāmṛitam*. Sōmadēva cultivated a highly ornate style replete with *śabda* and *artha alaṅkāras*. His main object in writing this work does not seem to have been so much to narrate a simple story as to display his mastery in every branch of knowledge known and appreciated at that time. As a work of art, it falls far below Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* or Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharitra*. Though heavy and tiresome, Sōmadēva's *Yaśastilaka* is well stocked with interesting information on all possible subjects which makes it an indispensable aid to the historian of mediaeval India.

76. *Yaśastilakam*—Kāvya-māla, No. 70, p. 419.

APPENDIX

THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS AND THE GŪRJARA-
PRATĪHĀRAS

The hostility between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gūjara-Pratīhāras dates back to the time when the latter were still sojourning in the desert tracts of Rajaputana. It had its origin in their desire to control Mālava. The Gūjara-Pratīhāras, who were probably foreign immigrants to India, wanted to make themselves masters of Mālava; but the Rāshṭrakūṭas who coveted the country opposed them. The struggle between the two powers began as early as the reign of Dantidurga, who seems to have led an expedition against Mālava and other northern countries during the last year of his reign.¹ His campaign in Mālava is described in the Daśāvatāra cave inscription at Ellōra at some length. Though unfortunately damaged, the three verses that are devoted to it, give us a clear idea of the main incidents of the campaign. In the first verse it is said that Mahārāja Śarva (i.e. Dantidurga) who had a formidable army and

1. Three records of Dantidurga have so far come to light. In the Ellōra plates (EI. XXV. No. 4, p. 25 f.) dated A.D. 742, his earliest record, there is no mention of any war or victory. In the Samangad plates dated A.D. 754, his victory over the Vallabha, that is, the Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi and the assumption of the imperial dignity are mentioned. There is no reference to his victories over other kings. (I.A. XI, p. 112). The Daśāvatāra cave inscription at Ellōra which was probably set up during the last year of his rule refers to his victories over the rulers of Sandhu (Sindhu), Kāñchi, Kalinga, Kōsala, Śrīśaila dēśa, Mālava, Lāṭa and Ṭanka (ASWI. V. pp. 92-6). As it was natural for a southern monarch to begin with the conquest of the countries nearer home at first, it may be assumed that the expedition to northern countries such as Mālava took place either in A.D. 756 or 757.

who was a vanquisher of the foes, destroyer of enemy elephants, a Bibhatsu (Arjuna) and a *dushṭa-nāga* (a deeply sagacious person) did something (verb lost) to rescue from calamity (*vyāpad-uddhartum*) Dēva who, like a second Yudhiṣṭhira (*jayinam-iva param*), was waited upon by a group of fearless and devoted kings and an excellent band of servants and who was followed by a mighty army (*bhīma-sēn = ānuyātam*). The second verse alludes to the performance at Ujjayinī of a *mahādāna*, which according to the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarsha I,² was the *hiraṇyagarbha*. It is said that, while Dantidurga was engaged in making the gift, the king of the Gūrjaras and others served as *pratīhāras* (gate-keepers). The third verse probably refers to the conquest of Lāṭa and not Mālava. Dantidurga is said to have subjugated the coastal region (*tīra-kshitim*) and bathed in a pool of water within the precincts of the palace built by the king of the Gūrjaras.³

The three facts disclosed by the Daśāvatāra cave inscription viz., (1) that Dantidurga rescued Dēva from some calamity which threatened his security; (2) that he made a *mahādāna*—*hiraṇyagarbha* according to the Sanjan plates—at Ujjayinī, the capital of Mālava; and (3) that he conquered the coastal region (Lāṭa) obviously from the king of Gūrjaras and bathed in a tank within his palace are of utmost importance, as they indicate the circumstances under which the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras first came into conflict. Who Dēva was, what the calamity was which threatened to overwhelm him, why Dantidurga went to his rescue and how in doing so he was obliged to wage war upon the king of the Gūrjaras are, however, matters on

2. EI. XVIII, p. 243.

3. ASWI, V. p. 243.

which the inscription throws no light. It has been suggested that Dēva was identical with Dēvarāja or Dēvaśakti, a nephew (brother's son) of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa I, and the father of Vatsarāja of Avanti.⁴ Though, no doubt, plausible, it is not free from difficulties; for there is no clear evidence to show that by the time of Dantidurga's Mālava expedition, Dēvarāja had come to the throne. From the Hansot inscription of Bhartṛivṛiddha, it is seen that Nāgabhaṭa was still ruling prosperously in A.D. 756.⁵ As Dantidurga died before A.D. 758, his expedition to Mālava must be placed earlier. To lend plausibility to the identification under discussion, it is necessary to assume that Nāgabhaṭa I died immediately after the setting up of the Hansot record, and that Dēvarāja was beset with troubles as soon as he ascended the throne. It is also just possible that Dēvarāja, who was holding the government of Mālava or a part of it under his uncle, rebelled against him and fearing retribution appealed to Dantidurga for help; and the latter, who was desirous of getting back the Lāṭa country, until recently an integral part of the Chālukya kingdom of Bādāmi, eagerly responded to the request and marched into Mālava at the head of his army. Of these two views the former presents certain points of advantage which recommend its acceptance. Dēvarāja suffered, according to the Jodhapur inscription of Bauka,⁶ a defeat at the hands of Siluka, the rival Pratihāra king of Bhinmal. It is not impossible that this happened at the very outset of Dēvarāja's reign. Expecting to profit by the death of his powerful kinsman Nāgabhaṭa I, Siluka might have invaded Mālava, defeated Dēvarāja and occupied a large part, if not the whole country; and the latter unable

4. *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, pp. 39-40.

5. *EL* XVIII, p. 197.

6. *Ibid*, pp. 87 f.

to offer effective resistance to the invader might have solicited Dantidurga's help.

Dantidurga's Mālava expedition was thoroughly successful. He defeated the Gūrjara king and occupied his capital, Ujjayinī where, as noticed already, he gave the great gift of the *hiraṇyagarbha*; he subdued Lāṭa, and very probably annexed it to his kingdom. Dantidurga's attack on Ṭanka (Tonk in Rajaputana) and Sindh were the offshoots of his Mālava expedition. Mēdantapura (Mērtā), the original capital of Nāgabhaṭa I,⁷ and Bhinmal the headquarters of the rival Pratihāra king were both situated in Rajaputana. Siluka probably began his attack on Dēvarāja by the capture of his ancestral home. To recapture the place and cripple Siluka's strength effectively, Dantidurga led his troops into the deserts of Rajaputana. Ṭanka was in those days a big country probably embracing the whole of Mewar. The most important event in the campaign was the capture of the famous mountain fastness Chitrakūṭa (Chitodgad) by the Lēmulaṅḍa Chālukya chief Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla. Both the fort and the Sapādalaksha country dependent upon it were placed under his control, perhaps, to safeguard the line of communications and Dantidurga proceeded with the main body of his army towards Mēdantapura and Bhinmal. What happened afterwards is not definitely known. If Sandhubhūpa of the Daśāvatāra cave inscription is a mistake for Sindhu-bhūpa, as suggested by Dr. Altekar,⁸ then the campaign against Mēdantapura and Bhinmal must have progressed favourably; for, Dantidurga could not have reached Sindh and defeated its ruler without crossing these places. Dantidurga's expedition to the countries of the North was a brilliant feat of arms. He returned home in triumph and set up a record of his victories in the Daśāvatāra cave at Ellōra.

7. Ibid.

8. *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 35, n. 13.

Dantidurga did not long survive his victories. Troubles broke out at home. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi, whom he had overthrown, did not accept the change in their fortunes with resignation. Under the leadership of Rāhappa they made a serious attempt to recover their lost power. Dantidurga was perhaps taken by surprise; or the enemies were too formidable to be suppressed. He seems to have perished in the struggle; for it is explicitly stated in the Rāmēśvaram epigraph of Kṛishṇa III that king Sāhasatuṅga (Dantidurga) went in his youth, at the request of the beauties of the *svarga*, to heaven, a euphamistic way of saying that he died in battle.⁹

The Rāshtrakūṭa power built up and sustained by the military genius of Dantidurga fell with him. His paternal uncle and successor Kṛishṇa I had to fight hard for nearly ten years before he could overcome Rāhappa and his followers and re-establish the power of his family.¹⁰ As he was

9. SII. IX, i. 68.

*Tasmīn Sāhasatuṅga-nāmnī-nṛipatau svas=sundarī
prārthitē yātē yūni divam . . .*

10. His earliest known date A.D. 758 is furnished by his Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal plates (JBISM, VIII, p. 165). Between that and the Telegaon copper-plates (EI. XIII, No. 25, pp. 275-282) A.D. 768, no record of his reign is found. As the Telegaon plates allude to the conquest of Kāñchī and were issued from the *skandhāvāra* at the city of Manne while waging war upon the Gangas, it is evident that by that time he had not only re-established his power but began to punish some of the neighbouring kings who had repudiated their allegiance. Rāhappa was not yet perhaps completely overthrown; for it is only in the Bhandak plates (EI. XIV, pp. 121-30) dated A.D. 772 that we have the earliest reference to his overthrow.

*Ullamghita-maryādē kali-jaladhau vyākula-nimajjantō
Yēn=ōddhṛitā dharitrī Śrīpraṇaya-Varāhēna.*

engaged throughout the period of his rule in suppressing the rebels and consolidating his power in the South, he was not able to pay any attention to the affairs of Northern India.

Gōvinda II who succeeded his father was a doughty warrior. He assisted his father in the war against his neighbours. He participated in the conquest of Gangavāḍi in A.D. 768 and he conquered Vēngi in A.D. 769. Though his succession was peaceful, his right to rule the kingdom was questioned by his younger brother Dhruva, who succeeded, after some years of warfare, in ousting him from the throne and proclaiming himself king. Nevertheless, Gōvinda II found it possible during the period of the struggle with his brother, to lead an expedition triumphantly to the banks of the Ganges. In the Rāmēśvaram inscription of Kṛishṇa III, it is stated that Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda II), son of Kṛishṇa I, ruled the earth after his father, and as a result of the destruction of Indra's pride by his army, the (white) waters of the Ganges became (black) like those of the Jumna.¹¹

The identity of Indra whose pride Gōvinda's army destroyed and turned the white waters of the Ganges black like those of the Jumna is not difficult to discover. He was, without doubt, identical with Indrāyudha who, according to Jinasēna was ruling over Kanauj about this time. Why Gōvinda II led an expedition against the king of Kanauj is hardly clear. It cannot be ascertained in the present state of knowledge.

11. S.II., IX. i. 68, v. 6.

*Tasmād=abhūt=sūnur=udārakīrtiḥ Prabhūtavarshō
bhuvam=āśaśāsa*

*Yat=sēnān=Indra-mardanād=Gangō yō Yāmuna-vad=
vibhāti*

The second half of the verse is very corrupt and at my request it has been emended by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi as follows:

*Yat-sēnayā-h-Indra mad-āvamardād-Gangā-payō Yāmuna-
vad=vibhāti.*

Dhruva succeeded ultimately in ousting his brother from the throne and usurping the kingdom. He then turned his attention to the erstwhile allies of his brother and chastised them for their conduct towards him. He defeated the Ganga, the Pallava and the Eastern Chālukya kings before A.D. 785 and compelled them to submit to his authority.¹² Having consolidated his position in the South, he concerted measures for an invasion of Northern India. Of all the allies of his brother, Vatsarāja, the king of Mālava, alone still remained unpunished. Apart from the desire for vengeance, considerations of policy demanded an immediate invasion of his kingdom. Dharmapāla, the king of Gauḍa, according to Khalimpur and Bhagalpur plates, defeated Indrarāja, king of Kanauj, and seized his kingdom.¹³ This roused the jealousy

12. EI. XXII, No. 17, v. 24.

13. Though it is generally believed that Indrarāja mentioned in these records is identical with Indrāyudha of Kanauj, Dr. R. C. Majumdar is of opinion that he was Indra, the younger son of Dhruva, who is said to have been made the governor of the Rāshtrakūṭa possessions in the North. (Jr. of Dept. of Lett. (Cal. University) X. p. 37, n. 2). This is contradicted by the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions. Dhruva invaded Northern India only once. Before that Vatsarāja seized the kingdom of Gauḍa and deprived the king of Gauḍa of his two white umbrellas of sovereignty, one over Gauḍa and another over Kanauj. These were taken from him by Dhruva in his turn. According to the order of events described in the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions, Vatsarāja's victory over the king of Gauḍa took place earlier than Dhruva's attack on the former. The term *Lāṭeśvara-maṇḍala*, which Dr. Majumdar takes to mean all the Rāshtrakūṭa possessions in the north, has no such implication. It means only the territory of the ruler of Lāṭa. Neither Dhruva nor his father Kṛishṇa I had ever conquered Lāṭa. It was only Gōvinda III that conquered the country; and it was he and not his father that appointed Indra as the ruler of *Lāṭeśvara-maṇḍala*. Therefore, Dhruva could not have appointed his younger son Indra as the governor of Jumna-Gangetic doab even before he invaded it; and his son Indra could not have been the Indrarāja conquered by king Dharmapāla of Gauḍa.

of Vatsarāja who launched an attack on the Gauḍa king, and having defeated him in battle, deprived him of his two white umbrellas of sovereignty and took possession of the Jumna-Gangetic doab.¹⁴ As the ruler of Mālava, Vatsarāja was a powerful monarch; the conquest of the kingdom of Kanauj made him formidable. It became therefore necessary to check his growing power.

Dhruva's northern expedition was a brilliant success. Judging from the available evidence, he does not appear to have engaged himself in warfare in Mālava or elsewhere in Central India. The target of his attack was the doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, whither he seems to have proceeded directly. He met Vatsarāja in battle, inflicted a defeat on him; and having captured from him the two white umbrellas of sovereignty which had been taken by him formerly from the king of Gauḍa, drove him into the deserts of Maru (Rajaputana).¹⁵ He also seems to have taken from the enemy the symbols of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā beautiful with waves and attained the imperial dignity.¹⁶ Vatsarāja was not the only enemy whom he had to fight against in the Jumna-Gangetic doab. The king of the Gauḍas advanced upon him at the head of his army believing perhaps that he would succeed where his old enemy Vatsarāja had failed. However, he was soon undeceived; for he not only sustained a crushing defeat but had to flee from the doab surrendering his royal parasols to his victorious enemy.¹⁷

14. IA. XI, p. 156.

15. Ibid.

16. JASB. VIII. (1839) v. 16.

17. EI. XVIII. No. 26. v. 14. Dr. Altekar is, however, mistaken in thinking that Surat plates of Karaka Suvarṇavarsha of Gujarat confirm the evidence of the Sanjan plates; for the verse "Yo'sau prasādhita-(samunnata)-sāra durgō-Gangaugha-santatinirōdha-vivṛiddha-kīrttēḥ", from which he draws this inference,

The arrangements, if any, which Dhruva made for upholding his authority in the Jumna-Gangetic doab are not known. They could not have been at any rate very effective; for both the enemies whom he expelled from the doab soon reappeared. Dharmapāla of Gauḍa was the first to return; and he was soon followed by Nāgabhaṭa II, the son of Vatsarāja, who seems to have died in exile in the desert of Maru. What really facilitated their return was the outbreak of internal troubles in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. On the death of Dhruva about A.D. 793, Gōvinda III, the heir chosen by him, succeeded to the throne; but his elder brother, Raṇāvalōka Kambha, whom he superseded, questioned his right and set up the standard of rebellion. A confederacy of twelve kings who were hostile to Gōvinda came into existence to support Kambha. Who these twelve kings were is nowhere specified; but it is not unlikely that most of the enemies who were humiliated by Dhruva, would have joined together with the object of promoting discord in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom and thereby crippling its strength.¹⁸ Gōvinda III was, therefore, engaged in a protracted struggle within

refers only to Dhruva's victory over Duggamāra, the son of the Western Ganga king Śrīpurusha Muttarasa. This verse also occurs in the Jethwai plates, dated A.D. 786, when Dhruva had not yet embarked on his North Indian expedition (EI. XXII. No. 17, v. 24).

18. The Nansari plates of Gōvinda III, dated A.D. 805 (SMHI, Vol. I, pp. 15-26) contains a list of twelve kings, the names of one of whom is unfortunately lost. Gōvinda is said to have taken from them their respective emblems: (1) fish from the ruler of the Pāṇḍya country, (2) the bull from the lord of the Pallavas, (3) the tiger from the Chōla, (4) the elephant from the Ganga, (5) the bow from the Kēraḷa; the boar from (6) the Āndhra-Chālukya, (7) the Maurya and (8) the lord of the Gūrjaras, (9) and certain emblems (names lost) from the kings of (10) Kōsala, (11) Avanti and (12) Sindhala. Most of the kings mentioned here were the hereditary enemies of the Rāshtrakūṭas, though it is not possible to state whether all these joined the confederacy against Gōvinda III.

his kingdom at the very outset of his reign; and he could not bestow any attention on its external affairs. Taking advantage of the situation, Dharmapāla, the king of Gauḍa invaded the doab and placed Chakrāyudha, his own protege, on the throne of Kanauj. His triumph was short lived. Nāgabhaṭa II, the son of Vatsarāja, emerged from his refuge in Rajaputana, defeated both Chakrāyudha and his overlord Dharmapāla and made himself master of the kingdom of Kanauj.¹⁹ Having thus regained the Jumna-Gangetic doab lost by his father, Nāgabhaṭa II conquered several countries of which Mālava and Ānarta were most important, as they were on the Rāshtrakūṭa frontier. Gōvinda was carefully watching the trend of politics in Northern India, though he was not able to intervene, owing to the internal disorders in his kingdom. When, by means of diplomacy and force, he succeeded at last in suppressing the rebellion and imposing his authority over his enemies in the neighbouring states, he made careful preparations for an expedition to the North. The campaign began with the subjugation of Mālava and Lāṭa; though no details of the warfare, excepting the capture of the fort of Chitrakūṭa, are known, success appears to have uniformly attended the Rāshtrakūṭa arms. Gōvinda left his younger brother, Indra, with an army to keep guard over Lāṭa and Mālava and proceeded with the bulk of his forces to the Jumna-Gangetic doab. Curiously enough he met with no opposition. Nāgabhaṭa is said to

19. Dr. R. C. Majumdar believes that the rulers of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga joined Nāgabhaṭa II in a confederacy and helped him to overthrow Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. (*Jr. of Dept. of Lett. Cal. Uni. X*, pp. 38-39). The evidence on which this theory is based is very slender. It is built on the forced interpretation of the simile of the fire and the moths employed in one of the verses of the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja. Apart from this simile there is not even a shred of evidence in support of this view.

have 'in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle'.²⁰ But Nāgabhaṭa was no coward; he was a veteran warrior who had seen the back of the enemy on many a battle-field. He would not have declined battle without reason. It is not unlikely that Nāgabhaṭa came into conflict with Gōvinda III somewhere else, if not in the Jumna-Gangetic doab, and met with disaster; and being desirous of avoiding further damage, he must have retired to a place of safety far from the reach of the enemy. However that may be, Gōvinda met with no opposition from Nāgabhaṭa; but the king of the Gaḍḍas, Dharmapāla, expecting to profit himself by the defeat of his enemy came with all his forces into the doab accompanied by his protegee Chakrāyudha. They, however, found that discretion was the better part of valour, and submitted to Gōvinda without fight. He marched to the foot of the Himalayas, and leaving Chakrāyudha and his overlord in possession of their territories, he returned home by way of Lāṭa, where he spent the rainy season at Śrībhavana.²¹ Gōvinda's stay in Śrībhavana was not due to whim but to the exigencies of state. He devoted his time in concerting measures for the protection and government of his northern conquests. Though it is stated in the Sanjan plates that, after the submission of Dharma and Chakrāyudha, Gōvinda III returned from the doab 'thinking that it (government of the conquered territory?) was now the work of the ministerial servants',²² his expedition was nothing more than a military demonstration. Gōvinda never intended to occupy the Jumna-Gangetic doab permanently and take upon his shoulders the burden of its government. But Lāṭa and Mālava fell into a different category. They were on the Rāshtrakūṭa frontier and could not be left in the possession of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras, as they were likely to

20. EI. VI. p. 250.

21. Ibid, No. 23, vv. 15-18. EI. XVIII, No. 26, vv. 22-23.

22. EI. XVIII, No. 26, v. 24.

prove dangerous to the security of his kingdom. He therefore constituted the coastal region into a viceroyalty called the *Lāṭēśvara-maṇḍala* and appointed his brother, Indra, as its viceroy. Though he entrusted the government of Mālava to a subordinate king spoken of in his inscriptions as Mālavanāyaka,²³ he appointed his nephew Karaka, whose arm is said to have been the door-bar to protect Mālava, as its military governor. How necessary these measures were is seen from the frequent references in the inscriptions of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭas to their conflicts with the Gūrjaras. Lāṭa served as a strong out-post which bore the brunt of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra attacks. Having thus made provision for the government and defence of the conquered territories, Gōvinda hastened homewards to chastise the Pallava king Dantivarman who refused to pay tribute.

The death, in A.D. 812, of Gōvinda III marks the beginning of a lull in the Rāshtrakūṭa Gūrjara-Pratīhāra relations which lasted upto the closing decades of the century. Indra and his son Karaka Suvarṇavarsha of Gujarat, no doubt, claim victories over the Gūrjaras,²⁴ which must have taken place in all likelihood during the later years of Nāgabhaṭa II; but their successors make no mention of wars with the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras. This was mainly due to the weakness of the royal power both at Malkhed and Kanauj. During the long rule of Amōghavarsha I, owing to the outbreak of frequent disturbances at home and wars with the neighbouring states in the south and the east, he could not undertake any expedition to the north like his father and grandfather. Similarly, Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II, could not carry on the policy of his father and wage war upon the Rāshtrakūṭas for the recovery of Mālava and Lāṭa.

23. Ibid, VI, No. 23, v. 17.

24. JASB, Vol. VIII, (1839) pp. 292-307.

Moreover, he had to face a powerful enemy who invaded the kingdom. Dēvapāla of Gauḍa marched against him at the head of his army to avenge his predecessor Dharmapāla's defeat at Mudgagiri, and having inflicted a defeat on his forces, spread confusion and disorder in the kingdom. Unable to defend his dominions, Rāmabhadra had to solicit the help of the feudatory kings to drive away the invader.²⁵ Under these circumstances, it was not possible for him to take the offensive against the Rāshtrakūṭas and carry the warfare into their kingdom.

Bhōja I or Mihira Bhōja, Rāmabhadra's son and successor, who ascended the throne in A.D. 836, was a monarch of different calibre.²⁶ He was ambitious and set himself steadily to the task of extending his kingdom. In the early years of his reign between A.D. 836 and 843, he recovered some of the territories such as Kālañjara-maṇḍala and Gūrja-rāshṭra-bhūmi, both lost during the time of his father. About the same time he also appears to have subdued some petty kingdoms in the north and extended the boundaries of his kingdom up to the foot of the Himalayas.²⁷ He could not, however, realise his ambition, until the overthrow of the Pāla kings of Bengal, who under Dēvapāla, if we can depend on the testimony of the Badal Pillar inscription and the Monghyr grant, established their supremacy over the whole of Northern India.²⁸ Bhōja's attempt at expansion was rudely checked by Dēvapāla who claims to have 'brought low the arrogance of the Gūrjaras.'²⁹ But after Dēvapāla's death Bhōja seems to have defeated his successor and exact-

25. EI. XVIII, p. 106, No. 13, v. 12.

26. JASB. 1881, pt. I, p. 3 n; LXXI (1902) pt. I, p. 102; EI. XVIII, p. 96, 99.

27. EI. XII, p. 15, v. 19.

28. EI. II, pp. 162-156, v. 5; XVIII, p. 305, v. 15.

29. Ibid, II. pp. 163, 165, v. 13.

ed tribute from him. Encouraged by his success he invaded the Punjab and subdued some petty chiefs in the land of the five rivers.

Bhōja next turned to the South and made a determined effort to recover from the Rāshtrakūṭas Lāṭa and Mālava which they had wrested from his ancestors. Conditions were favourable for the success of the enterprise. The successors of Karaka III encouraged by the absence of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra invasions and the chronic state of rebellion obtaining in the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions threw off their allegiance to their overlord and set up the standard of revolt. The Bagumra plates of Dhruva III and the Gujarat plates of his brother Dantivarman both dated in A.D. 867 refer to a war which the members of their family had to wage against an enemy called Vallabha for three consecutive generations.³⁰ The Vallabha mentioned was, no doubt, Amōghavarsha.³¹ Dhruva Nirupama II, the son of Karaka III, was the first to set up the standard of rebellion; his son, Akālavarsha continued the struggle and revived the fortunes of the family. Dhruva III, the son of Akālavarsha, was a stout warrior; on him devolved the task of defending the possessions of his family during the most critical period of its history. An army from Malkhed came against him under prince Kṛishṇa, the heir apparent to the throne. Bhōja I who was studying the situation closely, considering that the time for the conquest of Lāṭa and Mālava had at last come, advanced on him from the north. His younger brother turned traitor; and several kinsmen treacherously joined the enemy. But Dhruva rose equal to the occasion; and he overcame them all.³² The defeat of Kṛishṇa is perhaps corroborated by Amōghavarsha's lament in the Konnur inscription; "my son,

30. IA. XII. pp. 179-190, EI. VI. p. 285.

31. *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 81.

32. IA. XII. pp. 179-190, v. 37.

whose hosts were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery, blackened by the smoke and hidden himself had thus escaped."³³ However that may be, the victory over Amōghavarsha I was not complete. The old emperor summoned from his camp in Gangavāḍi his veteran general Bankeya Sallakētana and despatched him with a fresh army to Lāṭa. Bankeya justified the confidence placed in him by his master. He proceeded to the north, inflicted a crushing defeat on Dhruva III and restored the royal authority.³⁴

Bhōja did not, however, give up his designs on Lāṭa and Mālava. He bided his time. Another opportunity presented itself soon after the death of Amōghavarsha I. The reign of his son, Kṛishṇa II, who succeeded him on the throne in A.D. 877, opened with a disaster. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, the Eastern Chālukya king of Vēṅgi, repudiated the Rāshṭra-kūṭa supremacy and declared his independence. In the war that followed Kṛishṇa II sustained defeat in a series of battles. The Eastern Chālukya army carried fire and sword into the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions, pursued him burning towns and cities and devastating the country side to Kiranapura, the capital of his Haihaya brother-in-law and ally Sankila, where he had taken refuge, and compelled him to sue for peace acknowledging the suzerainty of his victorious enemy.³⁵ Bhōja seized the opportunity; he invaded Lāṭa and Mālava and conquered them both. The Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV allude cryptically to this invasion. It is stated that some unnamed enemy unable to withstand the might of Kṛishṇa II had to abandon the city of Khēṭaka together with

33. El. VI. No. 4, vv. 30-31.

34. Ibid, v. 34.

35. N. Venkataramanayya, *'The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi'*, pp. 113-130.

province of which it was the capital.³⁶ Khēṭaka denotes, no doubt, the city of that name in Gujarat (modern Kiara), which was the capital of Lāṭa at this time; and the unnamed enemy who took possession of it could have been none other than Bhōja I himself.³⁷ The Burton Museum epigraph refers, as a matter of fact, to a conflict on the banks of the Narmadā, between Varāha and Kṛishṇarāja who were in all likelihood, as pointed out by Deskalkar, identical with Bhōja I and Kṛishṇa II respectively.³⁸ It is not however possible to fix exactly the date of the fight, though it may be assigned with confidence to the years immediately following Kṛishṇa's accession to the throne. Lāṭa and Mālava did not, however, long remain under Gūṛjara-Pratīhāra rule. Bhōja I died about A.D. 885; and his son, Mahēndrapāla I, who succeeded him, did not inherit his father's military genius. Though he maintained his hold on the bulk of the Gūṛjara-Pratīhāra dominions, he could not prevent the loss of some of the outlying provinces especially Lāṭa and Mālava. The Cambay plates, as noted already, allude to Kṛishṇa's reconquest of the former. The Ankulēśvar grant of Kṛishṇa II of Gujarat³⁹ dated A.D. 888 describes how he defeated the enemy in the battle of Ujjayani fighting under the eye of the King Vallabha himself. The enemy was, of course, the Gūṛjara-Pratīhāra king, who was obliged as a consequence of the defeat to abandon Mālava and retire into his own kingdom.

The greatest achievement of Kṛishṇa II's reign was the invasion of the Jumna-Gangetic doab which took place some-

36. EI. VII. No. 6, v. 13.

*Tāsmād=Akālavarshō nṛipatir=abhūd=yat=parākrama-
trastaiḥ*

*sadyaḥ sa-maṇḍal=āgram Khēṭakam= ahitaiḥ
pari-tyaktam ||*

37. *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, p. 114, n. 1.

38. EI. XIX, p. 175.

39. IA. XIII, pp. 63, 68.

time before A.D. 908-9. The Jaina writer Guṇabhadra who completed his *Uttarapurāṇa* in that year states in the colophon that the war elephants of Kṛishṇa II drank the waters of the Ganges and enjoyed the cool shades of the trees in the forests of the Kumārī.⁴⁰ The circumstances under which Kṛishṇa II marched into the Jumna-Gangetic doab are not generally understood. He went there as an ally of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king and not as his enemy. Mahēndrapāla I died in A.D. 907-8. The succession to the throne was disputed; both his sons Bhōja II and Mahīpāla coveted the throne; and civil war broke out as a consequence in the kingdom of Kanauj. Of the two sons of Mahēndrapāla, Bhōja was weaker; but he had powerful allies. Kokkala I, the Haihaya king of Chēdi, who was probably related to him, rendered him valuable assistance. In the Bilhari inscription,

40. *Uttarapurāṇam*, Mysore Edn. Vol. III, pp. 877-8.

Dr. Altekar lightly sets aside the evidence of the Jain author with the remark, "This is conventional praise". He attempts further to justify his attitude by the following observation, "We know that Kṛishṇa's rule did not extend beyond Banavāsi 12000, and so his army could not have reached the Cape Comorin. Similarly his soldiers could not have entered the waters of the Ganges, as the Gūrjara-Pratihāra rule was firmly established in the Ganges valley. (*Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 97, n. 27). This is due to the lack of proper apprisement of all the known facts. A study of the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa II shows that his authority was recognized in the south of the Tungabhadra and the Chitaldrug district of the Mysore State (ARE. 40 of 1904, 542 of 1915, EC. XIV, Dg. 17). The Rāshtrakūṭa armies helped the Pallava king Aparājita to overthrow the Pāṇḍya monarch Varaguṇa in the battle of Tiruppurāmbiyam, and still later the Chōla Āditya I to overthrow the Pallava power and establish his authority over Tonḍaimaṇḍalam (E.C. XI, Ed. 76). These facts show that Guṇabhadra's statement so far as it concerns the resting of Kṛishṇa's war elephants in the forests of Cape Comorin is substantially correct. Similarly the drinking of the water of the Ganges by his elephants may not have been due to mere fancy.

Kokkala is said to have 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame—in the quarter of the Pitcher-born (Agastya), that well-known Kṛishṇarāja, and in the quarter of Kuvēra, Bhōjadēva, a store of fortune'.⁴¹ Kṛshṇarāja and Bhōja are, without doubt, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and the Gūrjara-Pratihāra Bhōja II respectively, as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn long ago.⁴² The coupling of the two names of Kṛishṇa II and Bhōja II in this record is interesting. Kṛishṇa II was a son-in-law of Kokkala I. Moreover, he was very much indebted to his father-in-law and his son Sankaragaṇa (Sankila) who stood by him during his war with Guṇaga Vijayāditya of Vēṅgi. Bhōja II was also probably related to Kokkala in a similar way.⁴³ As the Kārṇāṭas were already in occupation of the Jumna-Gangetic doab even before the accession of Mahīpāla and were quite hostile to him, they must have gone there during the short reign of Bhōja II probably at the instance of Kokkala himself to help him to seize the throne. That is how Kṛishṇa II's war elephants came to drink the waters of the Ganges.

Bhōja II, however, was not able to retain long the sovereignty which he had thus acquired. His half-brother

41. EI. I, p. 256.

42. Ibid, p. 253.

43. A verse (7) in the Benaras plates of Kārṇadēva (EI. II, p. 306) lends colour to this belief.

Bhōjē Vallabha-rājē Śrī Harshē Chitrakūṭa-bhūpālē

Sankaragaṇē cha rājani yasy=āsīd=abhayadaḥ pāṇiḥ ||

Of the four kings that are said to have obtained 'freedom from fear' from Kokkala's hand, Vallabharāja, that is Kṛishṇa II, was his son-in-law; Harshadēva of Chitrakūṭa, was a cousin of his wife who was a Chāṇḍella princess; and Śankaragaṇa also called Raṇa-vigraha was Kokkala's own son, whose daughter was married to Jagattunga, son of Kṛishṇa II (Ibid, pp. 300-301). It is not therefore unlikely that Bhōja was also related to Kokkala, although it is not possible to determine the exact nature of the relationship.

Mahīpāla gathered strength and with the help of Chāṇḍella prince Harshadēva, overthrew him and occupied the throne.⁴⁴ An important verse in the prologue of Kshēmiśvara's drama the *Chāṇḍakaśikam* affords us a glimpse into the condition of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra kingdom on the eve of Mahīpāla's accession. It is said that formerly the Maurya emperor Chandragupta, acting according to the counsel of the noble Chāṇakya, conquered the Nandas and captured their capital Kusumanagara; and king Mahīpāla, who was a re-incarnation of Chandragupta, overthrew the Karṇāṭakas who were the re-incarnation of the Nandas by the force of his own arm.⁴⁵ It is obvious that at the time of the accession

44. E.I., I, p. 122.

45. Yas=sam-śritya prakṛiti-gahanām=ārya-Chāṇakya-nītim
jītvā Nandān Kusumanagaram Chandraguptō jīgāya.
Karṇāṭatvam dhruvam-upagatān=adya tan=ēva hantum
dōr-darpāḍhyah sa punar=abhavach=chhrī. Mahīpāla
dēvaḥ.

The commentary on this verse by Jivananda Vidyasagara also deserves attention.

"Gāthām=āha:-Ya iti: yaḥ Chandraguptaḥ tad=ākhyah
Maurya=bhūpatiḥ, prakṛitya svabhāvēna, gahanām dush-pravēśām
dur-bōdhām=ity=arthah, . . . Chāṇakyaśya Kauṭilyaśya nītim
nayam nīti-kausālam=ity=arthah, sam-śritya avalambya Nandān
Yōgānanda prabhṛitīn Nanda-vamśīyām, jītvā paribhūya, Kusuma-
nagaram Pushpapur=ākhyam Pāṭaliputrastham Nanda-nagaram
jīgāya jītvān adhinīchakārē='ty=arthah adya idānīm, dōr=darp
=āḍhyah bāhubala-darpitaḥ saḥ Chandraguptaḥ Karṇāṭō='sya
nivāsaḥ Karṇāṭah tasya bhāvaḥ tattvam Karṇāṭatvam Kar-
ṇāṭa-dēś=ādhipatyam=ity=arthah, upagatvān prāptavān, idānīm
Karṇāṭa-dēśa-labdha-rājapadān iti=arthah, tan dēhāntara dhāra-
ṇēna punar=jātān pūrva-nihatān Nandān=ity=arthah, Nanda-
vamśīyan katichit rājñāḥ iti yāvat hantum=ēva nāsayitum=ēva,
dhruvam nischitam, punaḥ bhūyo='pi, Śrī Mahīpāladēvaḥ tad=
ākhyā nṛpati-viśēśah abhavat, Nandaś=Chandraguptēna Śrī
Mahīpāl=ākhyāyā jātēna punar=niyata, iti prāktanī prasiddhir iti
bhāvaḥ (Chāṇḍakaśikam, Cal. Edn. pp. 5-6).

of Mahīpāla the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra kingdom including probably the capital Mahōdaya was under the control of his brother's Karnāṭaka allies; and Mahīpāla acting perhaps on the advice of his minister Kshēmīśvara expelled them from the doab and took possession of his kingdom and the capital.⁴⁶

The expulsion of the Karnāṭakas from Kanauj was soon followed by the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra invasion of their kingdom.

46. Commenting on the passage in the *Chandakauśikam*, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri observes that 'the whole point of comparison is, and here it is the similarity underlying the *utprēksha* of the verse, that there is some *sādṛśya* in the midst of many differences between the two objects of comparison and we shall see presently that the *sādṛśya* in the comparison is really to be sought in the exile of the king from his country by the success of his enemies and his regaining the kingdom by diplomacy and foreign aid'. (JOR. VI, p. 193). It must be pointed out, however, that Chandragupta Maurya did not reconquer from the enemies his kingdom from which he was exiled. Chandragupta Maurya was an usurper; he destroyed by diplomacy and force the Nandas to whom the kingdom rightfully belonged. Similarly the kingdom of Kanauj did not belong to Mahīpāla. His brother Bhōja was the rightful ruler, whom he had to overthrow by intrigue and foreign aid. The Karnāṭakas who came to help his brother were the real masters of the situation. That is the reason for comparing them with the Nandas. Therefore the *sādṛśya* would be more appropriate, if the expulsion of the Karnāṭakas from the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra kingdom by Mahīpāla is placed at the beginning of his reign rather than in the middle. The term '*punaḥ*' occurring in the line '*punar-yēna śrī, Kshitipālādēva-nṛpatiḥ simhāsanē sthāt-sādit-ārāti-śakti kīrti-vibhūshaṇaḥ*' in the Khajuraho inscription No. 1 (EI. I, p. 122, l. 10) which lends colour to the view that Mahīpāla was at first driven away from the kingdom and was then restored need not be taken to mean "again". As pointed by Dr. R. S. Tripathi, '*punaḥ*' here means 'further', 'besides', or 'now'—(*History of Kanauj*, p. 257, n. 1). The verse in question recounts the various exploits of Harshadēva; and the word *punaḥ* is used to introduce another exploit in addition to those enumerated before.

If we may trust the poet Rājaśēkhara, Mahīpāla subjugated the Muraḷas, Mēkhalas, Kalingas, Kēraḷas, Kulūtas, Kuntalas and Ramaṭhas.⁴⁷ All the peoples said to have been conquered by Mahīpāla with the exception of the Ramaṭhas can be located easily. Most of them lived in the Deccan and South India. The Muraḷas were the people who inhabited the country on the banks of the Muraḷa river in North Konkan.^{47a} The Mēkhalas, of course, lived at the foot of the Mēkhala hills in the Central Provinces. The Kalingas were the people of the coastal region between the lower course of the Gōdāvarī and the Mahēndra mountain in the old Ganjam district. Kulūta is the name of a small country which together with Orissa formed a single kingdom in the eleventh century A.D.⁴⁸ The Kuntalas were, of course, the people of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. Embracing as it did a part of the Anantapur district and the districts of Bellāry, Rāichur, Bijāpūr, Dhārward, and North Kanara, Kuntala formed the heart of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions, so that it came to be known in the succeeding age as the Raṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-half lakh country. Kēraḷa was to the south of Konkan on the west coast. When exactly Mahīpāla effected the conquest of these countries is not known; but the invasion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom and other southern countries mentioned by Rājaśēkhara must have taken place before the accession of Indra III, as the latter was engaged in warfare in Mālava even before his coronation. Indra's expedition to Mahōdaya was in a way a reprisal to Mahīpāla's invasion of the South. It ended in a great triumph to the Rāshṭrakūṭa arms.

47. *Bālabhāratam*, I. 7.

*Namita Muraḷa-mauliḥ Pākalō Mēkhalānām
raṇa-kalita Kalingāḥ kēlitat-Kēraḷ=ēndāḥ
ajani-jita Kulūtāḥ Kuntalānām kuṭhāraḥ
haṭha-hṛita-Ramaṭha-śrīḥ śrī Mahīpāladēvaḥ ||*

47a. *El. III*, p. 271.

48. *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 261.

Mahīpāla was beaten in battle after battle, driven from pillar to post, and had ultimately to seek safety in flight leaving his capital to be sacked by the victorious Rāshtrakūṭa forces. Epigraphic evidence⁴⁹ indicates that in the period following the death of Indra III, the Gūrjara-Pratihāras recovered Mālava. The reign of Gōvinda IV (A.D. 929-35) was a period of internal discord. The intrigues of Baddega Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III and the rebellions of the Chālukyas in the eastern provinces kept him busy at home; and he was not able to protect his possessions in Central India. Mahīpāla appears to have taken advantage of the situation. No wonder that under the circumstances his efforts were crowned with success. The short reign of Amōghavarsha III who usurped the throne in A.D. 935, was a period of unrest; the partisans of Gōvinda IV were still active; and Kṛishṇa III, the heir apparent and *de facto* ruler of the kingdom had to devote all his energies to put down the rebels and consolidate the power of the crown. He was a warlike prince, and after his accession to the throne proved himself to be an energetic monarch, who brought during the three decades of his rule the whole of South India and the Deccan under the shadow of his umbrella. It was but natural that he should make an attempt to re-establish the supremacy of his family over Mālava.

Kṛishṇa III seems to have led his armies at least twice against the kingdoms of the north. In the Karhād plates dated A.D. 959 it is said that 'on hearing the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region, simply by means of an angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa vanished from the mind of the Gūrjara'.⁵⁰ This implies that by the time of the Karhād plates the forts of Kālañjara and

49. EI. XIV, pp. 176-178.

50. EI. IV, p. 288 f, v. 30.

Chitrakūṭa passed into Kṛishṇa's hands and the king of the Gūrjaras to whom they belonged perhaps made unsuccessful attempts to reconquer them, and on hearing the southern conquests of Kṛishṇa gave up all hopes of ever taking them back. As Kṛishṇa inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chōlas at Takkōlam in A.D. 949 and subjugated the Chōla kingdom immediately after the battle, it is reasonable to believe that Kṛishṇa's conquest of these forts and the unsuccessful attempts of the Gūrjara king to recover them preceded that date. This is corroborated by the evidence of Deoli plates, dated A.D. 940, which also allude to the loss of Gūrjara's hope of ever recovering the forts of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa, though no mention is made here of the southern conquests.⁵¹ It may be noted here that Kṛishṇa while he was still a crown-prince was involved in a war with some of the northern states. He waged war on his maternal cousins and defeated Sahasrārjuna, an elderly relative of his mother and wife.⁵² He probably reduced these forts on that occasion; and the king of the Gūrjaras (Mahīpāla), who attempted to take them back was defeated and driven away.

Another invasion seems to have proceeded against the Gūrjaras about A.D. 960, under the command of the Western Ganga king Mārasimha II. According to his Śravaṇa-Belgola epitaph, Mārasimha 'became known as the king of Gūrjaras' by conquering the North for Kṛishṇa III during which 'he dispersed the bands. of Kirātas on the outskirts of the Vindhya mountains', and 'numerous other people on the banks of the Tāpī in the neighbourhood of the forests of the Vindhya mountains'.⁵³ The Jura Praśasti inscription of Kṛishṇa III set up at the village of Jura near

51. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Kṛishṇa III and the Chēdis, JBRAS, XVIII, p. 288.

52. EI. IV, p. 251.

53. EI. V. No. 18, ll. 7-8, 10-11, l. 100.

Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces, probably during the course of this invasion, marks the line of Mārasimha's advance.⁵⁴ From the title *Ujjēni-bhujāṅga* borne by two of Kṛishṇa's officers Śūdrakayya and Goggiyamma,⁵⁵ it may be surmised that the invasion reached Ujjain in Mālava which seems to have fallen into the hands of the invaders. Mārasimha II probably reached Kalpi, and the erection by Kṛishṇa III a temple to god Kālapriyēśvara in the South was intended perhaps to commemorate an unrecorded victory at the place. These are the only facts that can be gathered about the invasion from the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions. Though the invasion was undoubtedly successful, there is considerable uncertainty about the identity of the enemy against whom it was directed. From the title '*Gūrjar = ādhirāja*', which Kṛishṇa III conferred on Mārasimha II on account of the success of northern expedition, the inference that the enemy against whom it was directed was the king of the Gūrjaras is not unwarranted. But who was the king of the Gūrjaras? The term Gūrjara is here used in a racial and not in a territorial sense, which it appears to have acquired much later. The suggestion that the Gūrjara might have been the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, the founder of Salanki dynasty, is utterly unlikely. His identification with the Paramāra Siyaka has stronger grounds to recommend it. Siyaka was a Gūrjara by race;⁵⁶ he ruled on the banks of Māhī, though it is doubtful whether his authority at this time extended over any part of Mālava not to speak of

54. EI. XIX, No. 51, pp. 287-290.

55. EC. XI, Hl. 23, 33.

56. In the *Tīṅgalēr-teru prāsasti* of the 34th year of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja I, Uppala (Utpala, that is Muñja) is spoken of as *Gūrjaran Uppalan*, that is Uppala the Gūrjara (Journal of Madras University, XVI, No. 1, p. 14). As Siyaka was the father of Utpala, he must have been also a Gūrjara. The Paramāras were a branch of the Gūrjara tribe, very probably different from the Pratihāras.

Ujjain; he was an enemy of the Rāshtrakūṭas; and he is said to have sacked Malkhed in A.D. 972-3⁵⁷ There is, however, one point which deserves careful consideration. Was Sīyaka the same Gūrjara, who according to the Deoli plates, lost all hope of ever recovering the forts of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa from the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch? The latter is generally believed to have been the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. The Gūrjara-Pratihāra power had no doubt declined rapidly after the death of Mahīpāla I; but their authority in Mālava was not immediately overthrown. The Partabgarh inscription of Mahēndrapāla II dated A.D. 946 clearly shows that his sovereignty was still recognized in Ujjain and its neighbourhood.⁵⁸ Vināyakapāla, in a Chaṇḍella inscription at Khajuaho dated A.D. 954, is said to have been protecting the earth, the earth which was not taken possession of by the enemies, who had been annihilated.⁵⁹ It was only in the reign of Vijayapāla (A.D. 959-988-9) that the Gūrjara-Pratihāra kingdom began to fall to pieces. Could not the Gūrjara opponent of Mārasimha II have been Vijayapāla? Could it not be that the dismemberment of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra

57. In the Śravaṇa Belgola epitaph, Mārasimha II is said to have protected 'by the strength of his arm the encampment of the emperor situated within Mānyakhēṭa' (*Bhuja-bala-paripālita-Mānyakhēṭa-pravēṣita-Chakravartti-kāṭakasya*) E.I., V. No. 18, ll. 12-13). During Mārasimha's time, Mānyakhēṭa was attacked by an enemy only once, and that was by Sīyaka in A.D. 972-3, as stated in Dhanapāla's *Pāyilachchi*. The plunder of Mānyakhēṭa could not have been, therefore, as complete as is generally believed. Moreover, as Mānyakhēṭa is included in the list of places, where Mārasimha is said to have triumphed over his enemies, *intu Vin-dhyātavī-niṭaṭa-tāpī-taṭavam Mānyakhēṭapuravam.....modalāge, palav = eḍe yoloḷam mahādhvajavan = ettisi mahādānam geydunegālḍa Ganga-Vidyādharam*; *Ibid.*, l. 84, it appears as if Mārasimha had actually repulsed Sīyaka's attack and driven him away.

58. E.I. XIV, pp. 176-88.

59. *Ibid.*, I, p. 135.

kingdom was the direct consequence of Mārasimha's northern expedition? However that may be, Mārasimha's invasion was the last military adventure of the Karṇāṭakas in Northern India. The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi who succeeded in making themselves masters of most of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions could never attain their military glory or political power.

A

THE KOLLIPARA PLATES

This set consists of five copper plates each of which measures 8''·8 in length and 3''·5 in breadth. They are secured by means of a solid copper ring 3''·5 in diameter which passes through a round hole in the middle of the left edge of each plate and to which is soldered a circular seal with the emblems of the boar, the moon and perhaps also the sun; and below them is engraved the superscription 'Arikēsari'. The first four plates are inscribed on both the sides; and the fifth and the last plate has no writing on it. As the text of the inscription begins on the second side of the first plate, it is not possible to state what is inscribed on the first side, owing especially to the badly damaged condition of the plate which precludes the possibility of decipherment excepting a few letters here and there.

The *language* of the inscription is Sanskrit, it consists of eighteen verses in various metres including the four imprecatory verses at the end, and three prose passages including the one describing the boundaries of the village, which is the subject of the present grant. The language is not entirely free from faults, and grammatical lapses are not infrequent.

Palaeography and Orthography:—The script is the Telugu-Kannaḍa script of the transition period that was in use in the Deccan from the eighth to the eleventh century A.D. As Śrī M. Somasekhara Sarma who has edited these plates in the Telugu journal *Bhārati* (Vol. VII, part ii, pp. 297-9) has pointed out, the Telugu-Kannaḍa script did not undergo any important changes, though the style of writing varied according to the scribes and the localities where they lived. The characters

of the present record are well formed and beautiful, and as far as their evidence goes, it may be assigned to the middle of the ninth century. The consonants following the *rēpha* are usually doubled; but occasional deviations from this practice are not unknown (see l. 22 *barbara*; l. 32, *raṇ* = *ārjuna*). The symbol of the *śakṭa-rēpha* or rough *ṛa* is employed to indicate the *upadhmānīya*.

The inscription registers the grant by king Arikēsari, son of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Chālukya family to Mugdhaśivāchārya, the disciple of Sadyaśsivāchārya of the Ankuṭa-Gurukula, of the village of Belmoga in Rāmaḍu-Vishaya, situated to the south of the village of Ūrige and in the centre of the villages Tuvatoru, Parivāturla, Puḷcheruval and Pōtuvōdupi. The king is said to have belonged to the Lunar family, and descended from Satyāśraya surnamed Raṇa-Vikrama. To Satyāśraya was born a son called Prith-vīpati; his son was Mahārāja who begot Rājāditya; the latter had a son called Vinayāditya, who bore many titles, the most important of which was Yuddhamalla. He was a great conqueror, and the kings of several countries such as Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kāśmīra, Kāmbhōja, Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Ganga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Kērala are said to have offered worship to his footstool. The son of this Vinayāditya was king Arikēsari, donor of the present grant. He is said to have been a learned and just monarch, proficient in grammar, law, the *gajatantra* and medicine; he is also said to have been skilled in archery and even devoted to the dispensation of justice. Arikēsari's gift is said to have been a *vidyādāna*, that is, a gift intended for imparting education. Of the donee, Mugdhaśivāchārya, or of his preceptor, Sadyaśsivāchārya nothing is known. The former is said to have subsisted only on vegetable diet. The Ankuṭa-gurukula to which these Śaivāchāryas belonged was probably one of the branches of the Kālāmukha sect of the Śaivas that flourished in the Telugu country.

The situation of Belmoga, Ūrige, Tuvatoru, Parivāturla, Pulcheruvuḷ and Pōtuvōdupi is not known. The name Rāmaḍu-Vishaya is reminiscent of the Rāmaḍi-nāḍu, a three hundred district, mentioned in a Telugu Chōla *vīragal* record of about the middle of the 8th century A.D., found in the site of a deserted village called Mārapanahaḷli in the Kolar district of the Mysore State (EC.X. Gd. 76). In the absence of confirmatory evidence, it is difficult to assert that they are identical. The Śrīśailaparvata, the abode of the God Śrīkaṇṭha, is identical with the Śrīśaila mountain in the Nandyal taluk of the Kurnool district; and Eliśvara, the place where the donee Mugdhasivāchārya lived, is, no doubt, the modern Elēsvaram in the Nalgonda district of the Hyderabad State.

The record does not bear any date; but the verse,

*Kalau-vyāptē jagaty=asmin surēndr=ēbh=ārka-
sāgarāḥ |
dānēna tējasā sthityā jītā=yēna mahātmanah ||*

describing the qualities of the sage Mugdhasivāchārya seems to indicate that it was written in Kali 4121 (A.D. 1019-20). Although this date does not militate against the evidence of palaeography, the dynasty, to which Arikēsari and his father Vinayāditya belonged, came to an end some fifty years earlier. As Arikēsari III (A.D. 966) the last member of the dynasty was seventh in descent from Arikēsari (I), the son of Vinayāditya and the donor of the present grant, the latter must be assigned to a much earlier period. This together with the false genealogy provided for him throws considerable doubt on the genuineness of the record.

FIRST PLATE — SECOND SIDE

1. Om [||*] Jayaty = amala-jānhavī-jala-taraṅga saṁ-
ghāta-bhṛi [||*] jjaṭā makūṭa-

2. vishphu (sphu)rat = taruṇa-Chandra-chūḍāmaṇi[h*]
.... yapushā-jēna-vapu(?)sha
3. vapur=manōhara-tara h || [1*]
4. Vyābhug = vaprō śrī gra . . . śa [|*]
ghōṇ=ā
5. ghāt=ābhighāta-pa la-śaila-prata-(?) dhvāna
. . . . dai
6. tya-pramudita-vidi-vikram=ākrānta-nā pāyād=ā . . .
. . . kuvalaya-
7. vyāpinaś=chkrapāṇiḥ || [2*].
ndara-śikhara-śilā-ghṛishṭi-dō

SECOND PLATE—FIRST SIDE

8. shō-jit=ārai [|*] prōd=bhindan=nābhi-padmā=ās-
rīta¹-kamala-bhuvaś=chakriṇaḥ krōḍa-rūpa[m?]
9. bhūtam=bhūtyai = bhuvō-yad = dhṛita-sakala-dharā-
maṇḍalam tat=prasāda-prādur=bhūtō dharā-ra-
10. kshaṇa-paṭur=amalaś=chāru-Chāluka-vaṁśaḥ|| [3*]
Tasmin=vaṁśē kalābhṛit-kala-ka-
11. li-janita-dhvānta-bhit=saumya vṛittiḥ [|*] kshīr=
ōdanvaty=udamśuś=śaśa-dhara iva yaḥ prā-
12. dūr²=āsīn=mahātmā [|*] Utkhāt=āsi³ -pratāpāv=
anamita-ripu-bhūbhṛit=kulō bhūta-daitryā⁴ [|*]
13. bharttā Satyāśrayas=sa-prabhu-guṇa-mahitō bhūtala-
khyāta-kīrtti[h*] || [4*] Ētasmād=Ra-

1. Read *Padm=āśrita*.
2. Read *prādu*.
3. Read *utkhāt=āsi*.
4. Read *bhūta-dhātryā*.

14. ṇa-Vikramāt = pṛithu-balāt = Satyāśraya-kshmā-bhṛi-
taḥ [|*] pṛithviśah Pṛithvīpati[h*]⁵ Pṛthu-nibhō
15. lōka-stutō='bhūt=sutaḥ [|*] tasmāt=tat=Prithivī⁶-
patēr=vvasumatī-khyātō Mahārāja-
16. [?kaḥ][|*][tyā] [g=audā*] [ryya-] varah [pa*] [rā]-
rttha-[nira]taḥ prādū⁷ [r = bba] = bhūv = ātmajah ||
[5*] Āsit=tasmā[n=ma] [hā*] rājā[d=ā-]
17. tmaja[h*]pṛithu-vikramaḥ[|*] Pṛithu-Māndhātṛi-sam-
kāśō Rājādityō dharādhipati⁸ [|6*] Tatō='bhavat=
suta[h*] śrī-
18. mān Śrīrāmō Rāma-vikramaḥ [|*] viśvarād=Vinayā-
dityō Yuddhamallō nṛip=āmkuśah || [7*]
19. Guru-dōr=ddaṇḍa-prachaṇḍasphurad=asi-latik=ānīta-
rājanya-lakshmi [|*] kara-yugm=ōtthā-
20. pit-ēndu-dyuti-hara-dhavaḥ = āmbhōja-līl = ātapatraḥ
[|*] dharāṇī-dik=chakravāl=āntaga-nikhi-
21. la-guṇ=ōdbhāsi rāj=āśrayas=sā [|*] gara-vēlā-vēsh-
tīt=ōdyat=sakala-vasumatī-vallabhō
22. Yuddhamallah || [8*] Turushka-Yavana-Barbara-Kās-
mīra⁹ - Kāmbhōja - Magadha - Māḷava-Kaḷiṃga-Gaṃga
(ga)
23. Pallava - Pāṇḍya - Kēraḷa-prabhṛiti - narapati - sa - sam-
bhrama samarppita¹⁰-pāda-pīṭah

5. Read *Pṛithivīpatiḥ*.

6. Read *tat=Prithivīpatēḥ*.

7. Read *prādu*.

8. Read *dharāpatiḥ* or *dharādhipaḥ*.

9. Read *Kāśmīra*.

10. Read *sam=archchita*.

THIRD PLATE — FIRST SIDE

24. Bhagavan=Nārāyaṇa-vara-varaha-lāñchhana - vaśīkrat
aśēsha¹¹-viśvāmbharā¹²-chakraḥ ||
25. Abhavad=Vinayādityān=Nala-[Na][husha-Di*][li]pa-
Dundhumāra-pratimān¹³ [|*] Arikēsar=iti¹⁴
26. nāmnā sūnuḥ kshīr = ōdādhēr=yadā¹⁵śīśir = āmsuḥ
[|| 9*] Rāja-śrīyam¹⁶ vakshasi bhāratīm=mukhē vira-
27. śrīyan¹⁷=dōshi gurau sva-dakṣiṇē [|*]dik=chakra-
vāla-bhramaṇ=ōdyatān=dadhat [|*] kīrtti-
28. pratāpē ripu-darppa-nāsanē¹⁸ [|| 10*] Vyākaraṇa-
tharmma¹⁹-vid=dvirada-tantra-daksha [s*]=sadā
29. nyāya-nipuṇo dhanur=vvidita-śīkshayā²⁰-viśrutaḥ āya-
tim=upētavān=jagati vaidya-śā
30. stro='dhikām²¹ śrīmad=Arikēsari nṛipa-guṇais-sam=
āviśkrataḥ²² [|| 11*] samastha²³ bhuvana-rajā²⁴
31. [?la*]kshmi-nivāsa-[stha]laḥ sva-bhuja-bal=akraṣṭa-
ṭa²⁵-śar=āsana-jyā-latā.

11. Read *Varāha-lāñchhana vaśīkrit=āśēsha.*

12. Read *viśvam̐bharā.*

13. Read *pratimaḥ.*

14. Read *Arikēsar=īti.*

15. Read *Kshīr=ōdadhēr=yadā.*

16. Read *rājā-śrīyam.*

17. Read *śrīyan.*

18. Read *nāśanē.*

19. Read *dharmma.*

20. Read *śīkshayā.*

21. Read *śāstrē='dhikām.*

22. Read *sam=āviśkrataḥ.*

23. Read *samasta.*

24. Read *rāja.*

25. Read *bal=ākṛishṭa.*

THIRD PLATE — SECOND SIDE

32. vimu [kta]nārācha-paramparā - parājita-par-āvanipāla
saṁ=stūyamāna raṇ=Ārjunah
33. śumbhadh²⁶=ambhōdhi-mēkhalā-kalāp = āvṛita-vasun-
dharā-tala-sandhāraṇa sthambhāya²⁷
34. māna bhuj=ārggaḥ samastha²⁸-lōkaśrayaḥ tribhu-
vanamallaḥ rāja-triṇētraḥ sā-
35. hasa²⁹-rāmaḥ ity = ētair = abhidhānair = abhishṭutaḥ
[|*] Kalō³⁰vyāptē jagaty=asmin= surēndrō-
36. bhārka-sāgarāḥ³¹[|*] dānēna tējasā sthityā jitā yēna
mahātmanah [| 12*] Amkkuṭa-gu-
37. ru-kulēna Śaiv=āchāryyair = avāpta-tapaḥ-prabhāvā-
sya³² Śrīkanṭh=āvāsa-Śrīparvvat=ō
38. ttara-dvārē paschād=Elisvarē³³krata-nilayē³⁴ sadā=sāk
ahārinam³⁵ Sa[dya]-śiv=āchāryya³⁶
39. sya śishyaḥ [|*] siddhānta-baddha-buddhi[h*] dhyā-
na-pradhvasta-durita-praba[ndha]^{36a}-prachaya[h*]

26. Read śumbhad=ambhōdhi.

27. Read stambhāya.

28. Read samasta.

29. 'sa' is written below the line, above which is inscribed X,
to mark its proper place.

30. Read Kalau.

31. Read surēndr=ēbh=ārka sāgarāḥ.

32. Read prabhāvasya.

33. Modern form is 'Ēlēśvara'

34. Read kṛta-nilayē.

35. Read sadā śāk=āharinaḥ.

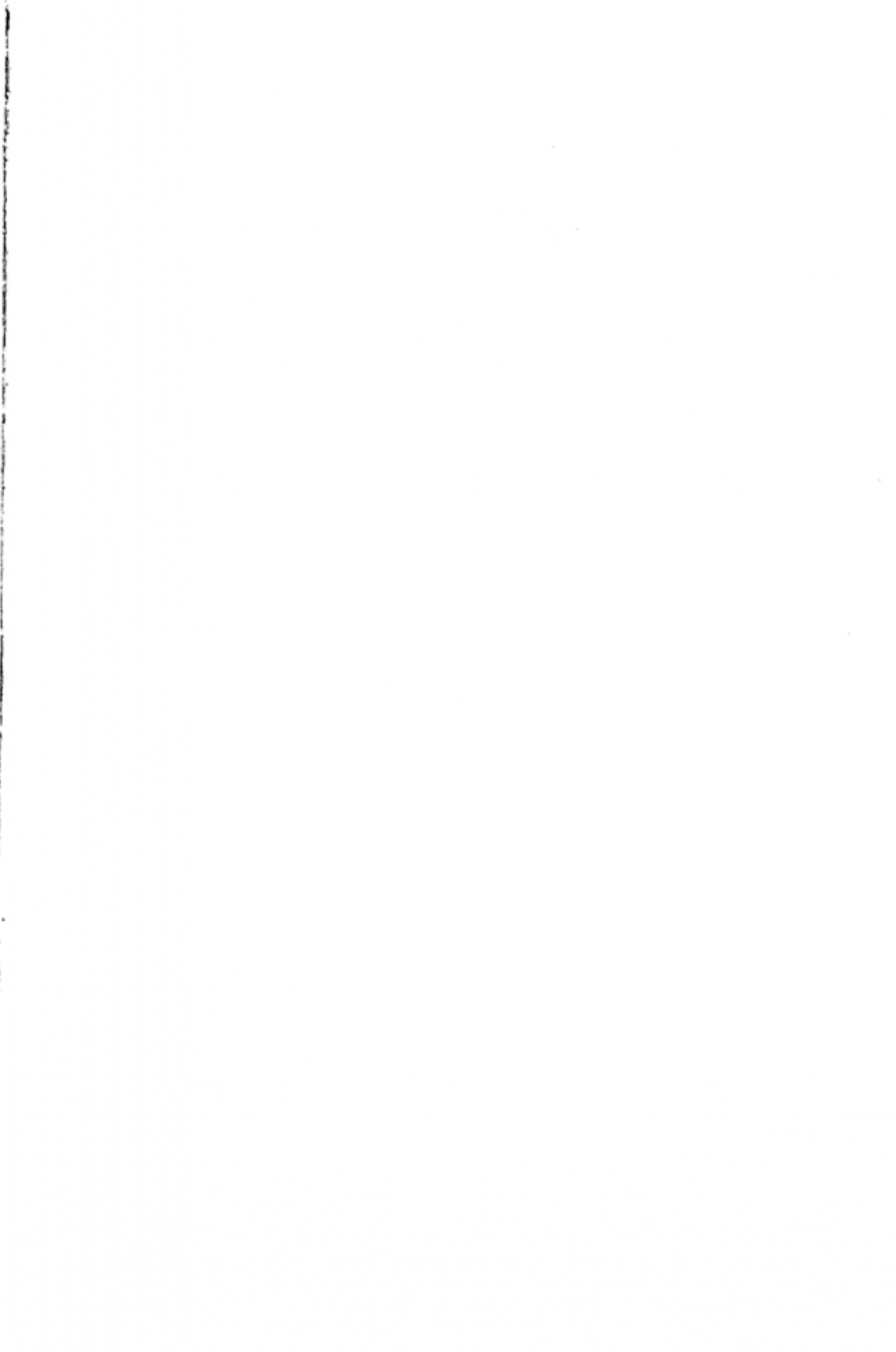
36. Read Sadyas=sivāchārya.

36-a. Read pradhvasta-durita-bandha.

FOURTH PLATE — FIRST SIDE

40. mugdha-śaśi-śēkhara Śrī Mugdha-śivō-nāma-śuddha-
charitō mahitaḥ [|| 13*] tasmai mahāmunayē
41. Śrīmad = Arikēsariṇā samastha - lōkāśrayēna³⁷ rājā³⁸ -
triṇētrēṇa [||*] [Pūrvv=ō] ditē [na*] kshiti-
42. bhṛit=sutēna rāj=āmkuśēn=āhava-vikramēṇa [||*]
grāmaś=Śiv-ārādhana-tat=par-ārttaṁ³⁹ tapasvi-
43. nē Mugdha-śivāya dattaḥ [|| 14*] Ayaṁ śrīmad=Ari-
kēsa[ri*]ṇo dharmmaḥ [||*] Vidyā-dānam=idam
44. datta[m]m^{39a} [||*] Sa grāmaḥ Rāmaḍu-Vishē⁴⁰ Ūrige-
nāma-vikhyāta-mahā-grāmasya-dakshi-
45. ṇa-dig=bhāga-sthitō grāmaḥ Belmogam=iti nāmnā
viśrutaḥ Tuvatōru Parivāturla (?)
46. Pul=cheruvuḷ Pōtuvōdupi ity=ētēshām grāmaṇām⁴¹ sa
madhya sthitaḥ [||*]
47. Uktam cha Manv=ādibhiḥ [||*] Sva-dattaṁ para-
dattaṁ vā⁴² yō harēta vasundharā⁴³ [||*] shashṭim⁴⁴ va-
48. rsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām⁴⁵ jāyatē krimiḥ [|| 15 ||*]
Bhūmi-dānāt=paraṁ puṇyam nabhū-
49. tō na bhavishyati [||*] tasyai vakrāt=paraṁ pāpō na
bhūtō na bhavishyati [|| 16*] Bahu-

37. Read *samasta-lōkāśrayēṇa*.38. Read *rāja*.39. Read *tat=par=ārtham*.39-a. Read *dattaṁ*.40. Read *Rāmaḍu-Vishayē*.41. Read *grāmāṇām*.42. Read *sva-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ vā*.43. Read *vasundharām*.44. Read *shashṭi-varsha*.45. Read *viśṭhāyām*.





Kuruvagatta Inscription

50. bhir = vvasudhām bhuktō⁴⁶rājabhis = Sagar = ādibhih
[|*] yasya [yasya*] yathā⁴⁷ bhūmis=tasya
51. tasya tadā phalam [|| 17* ||] Triṇ = āgra⁴⁸-viśrānta-
tushāra-sañchalam śriyan= tatha jī-
52. vitam=ātmanah pumān [|*] sam=ikshya buddhyā⁴⁹
dvija-dēva-dattishu⁵⁰pralōbhyēt=kar= para⁵¹

B

THE KURUVAGAṬṬA INSCRIPTION

This short epigraph, consisting of a Sanskrit verse and a Kannaḍa prose passage is inscribed in the archaic Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of about the beginning of the ninth century A.D.: it is engraved on a stone in front of the image of Chaudāmba, sculptured on a stone between two boulders on a hillock on the bank of the stream Mināmbā, opposite to the village of Kuruvagaṭṭa in the Nagar-Karnool taluk of the Mahboobnagar district of the Hyderabad State. There is a ruined Śiva shrine near the image of Chaudāmbā. The image as well as the inscription in front of it is probably connected with it. The inscription does not, however, mention either the Śiva temple or the image of Chaudāmbā. It simply records the exploits of prince V(B)īragriha, son of Vinayāditya of the Chālukya family and states that V(B)īragriha was a good friend of K(G)ōvinda-Vallabha, son of Kalivallabha of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Kalivallabha is a well-known title of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva (A.D. 780-793); and K(G)ōvinda-Vallabha is obviously his son, Gōvinda III (A.D. 793-814).

46. Read *vasudhā bhuktā*.

47. Read *yadā*.

48. Read *triṇ=āgram*.

49. Read *sam=ikshya buddhyā*

50. Read *dattishu*.

51. The *ślōka* is incomplete.

1. Śrī Rāshṭrakūṭa vaṁśē='smin=sañjātaḥ Kalivalla-
bha[h] [|*]
2. tasy = āsīn = mēru = saṁkāśa[h]putrō[Kōvinda]valla-
bhaḥ [|* 1]
3. Tat=sat=sakhō-hi Chālukya-vaṁśajō= bhrājatē pra-
bhuh [|*]
4. Vinayāditya-dēvassya¹ sūnur=vViragrihas=sadā [|2*]
5. int=app=āta n[ū]r=ayvatt=obbara kaḷi-taleyōl=irid
= ayva
6. -tt=āruvara surigeyōl=iridōn[|*] int-avone tānuṁ
sāha-
7. saṁgaḷa geyda Bīragriham=e[na]l=samāna-vuḷḷede
illi
8. [sā]hasaṁ [|*]

C

THE LĒMULAVĀḌA INSCRIPTION

This long epigraph comprising 108 lines of writing is engraved on the four faces of a rectangular stone pillar 4' by 1' 3" standing to the left of the sanctum of the Bhīmēśvara (Old Baddegēśvara) temple in the village of Vēmūlavāḍa (called Lēmbulavāṭaka in the inscription) in the Karimnagar district of the Hyderabad State. The record is in a good state of preservation, and the letters being deeply chiselled offer little or no difficulty in decipherment.

The language is Sanskrit, both verse and prose, excepting a few lines (ll. 17-28) enumerating the *birudas* in Kannaḍa of the donor and his minister. The language is not free from faults and some of the allusions in the pass-

1. Read *dēvasya*.

age describing the excellences of the donor are obscure. The characters are the Telugu-Kannaḍa of the tenth century A. D. The letters are well-formed, though they show a tendency to degenerate in the later stages of the record. The *orthography* calls for some remarks. As in the inscriptions of the early period, the consonants following a *rēpha* are doubled. The proper nasal corresponding to the class of consonants is generally employed, though the *anusvāra* instead of the proper nasal is made use of occasionally. In one place (l. 8), the vernacular spelling *digmaṇḍala* is used in the place of *dinmaṇḍala*. The letter *ṛa* is employed to indicate the *upadhmānīya*, but occasionally *la* is substituted in its place. The most striking feature of the orthography is the excessive use of *la* in the place of the soft consonant *la*. This is perhaps due to the Kannaḍa origin of the author of the *praśasti* and the scribe who chiselled it on the stone.

The inscription, appropriately enough, begins with the invocation of the Sun God for the maintenance of the service in whose temple the gift registered in it is made. Vinayāditya known also as Yuddhamalla, the ornament of the Chālukya family (*Chālukya-kula-tilaka*) is then introduced. He is said to have ruled the Sapādalaksha country, which could not be controlled by others; bathed his elephants in a tank filled with oil at Pōdana and reduced the fort of Chitrakūṭa to subjection. His son was Arikēsari (I) who conquered the entire country of Vēngi. His son was Narasimha who was also known by the name of Rājāditya. After him ruled Yuddhamalla (II); Baddegā and Yuddhamalla (III) succeeded him one after the other. Then Narasimhadēva (II) became king. He defeated the rulers of the Seven-Mālavas and collected tribute from them, vanquished at Kālapriya the army of the Gūrjara king, who came to oppose him and set up a pillar of victory. His son was Arikēsari (II), who had a string of birudas, such as *Pāmbar=āṁkuśan*, *ammanagandha-vāraṇan*, *Gandh=ēbha-Vidyādharan*, *ārūḍha-sarva-*

jñan, *Udātta-Nārāyaṇan*, *noḍud*=*ante-gelvōm*, *guṇa-nidhi*, *guṇ*=*ārṇavam*, *śaraṇ*=*āgata vajra-paṁjaraṁ*, *priya-gaḷḷaṁ*, *tribhuvanamallaṁ* and *sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇi*. He married Rēvakanirmaḍi, the daughter of Indrarāja. He protected Bijja, and defeated an army under Pandyārya, sent against him by the infuriated Govindarāja. The *sandhi-vigrahi* of Arikēsari, Guṇāṁkuśa is next mentioned.

Then follows an account of the family of Peddaṇa, the *tantrapāla* of king Arikēsari II. He was the son of Nāga-mārya, the *tantrapāla* of king Baddegga. Peddaṇa built a temple of the God Āditya [the Sun]; and at his request on the holy occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa-Sankrānti*, king Arikēsari II granted in the north-east corner of his capital Lēmbulavā-ṭaka one hundred *nivarttanās* of land for the maintenance of the *sattara* attached to it, where *atithis* and *abhyāgatis* were fed; and eight *nivarttanās* of land as *pāṇiya-bhūmi* or land for the maintenance of a shed for the distribution of drinks to the thirsty. Mallikārjjuna, Vyaktalingi, Vidyārāśi and Vyākhyāni-bhaṭṭārka, the *sthānādhipatis* respectively of the four temples of Rājēśvara, Ādityagriha, Baddegēśvara and Nagarēśvara; the nine merchants Chandra Śrēshṭhin and others; and the eminent sage of the lineage of the Thātaviyas, the president of the *sūri-sthāna* are cited as witnesses. Instead of the imprecatory verses found usually in the inscriptions, there are two verses, one appealing to the future kings to protect this work of charity as their own, and the other reminding them of the ephemeral character of life, the mercilessness of Death and the urgent need to perform deeds of dharma. The last line of the inscription states that the *siddhāya* on the land granted to the temple was twelve *drammas*.

FIRST FACE

1. Śrīmān-bhānus = tamō-hantā daitya-darppa-haraḥ pa-
[rō][|*]



L(V) ēmulavāḍa Inscription

First Side

2. lōk=aika- lōchanah pāyād= apāyād=bhuvana-tra-
yam || [1*]
3. Svasti [|*] Samasta- vibudhā¹ - jana - samstūyamānas =
saka
4. laḱaḷā-kamaḷ= aika- rāja- hamsaḥ Kaṁsa-mathana=
iva
5. Kamaḷākarīkṛita-vakshasthaḷa[h*] Sthāṇur=iva bhās-
ma²
6. sātkṛita-samast=āri-pura-pa[cha]ṇḍaḥ pravṛi[ddh=ō]-
daya-prabōdhit=ā
7. śēsha-pravāh³=ā[m*] bhōj=ānvarthīkṛita-Vinayāditya-
8. nāmadhēyaḥ prasādhit = āśēsha-dig = maṇḍaḷas = cha
pa[ra]-
9. maṇḍal=aika- rāmaś=Chāḷukya-kuḷa-tiḷakaḥ Śrī Yud-
dha-
10. mallō-nāma- rājā babhūva || Sō='yam kilā śasad = a -
11. nanya-śāsya[rn*] Sapāda-lakshām kshitim= akshat=
ājñah [|*]sa-
12. masta-rājendra-kirīṭa-kōṭi-māṇikya-rāsmi[h]⁴=praka-
13. [r=ā]rchchit=āmghriḥ || [2*] Yaḥ Pōdanē saudha-
mayi[m*] gajānām vi-
14. dhāya vāpīm=api taila-pūrais[|*]sa-sarva-sēkam sa-
15. tatam vitēnē ch=āsrōḥ⁵ kuchānām= ari-sundarī-
ṇām || [3*]

1. Read *vibudha-jana*.
2. Read *bhasma*.
3. Read *prāhvā*.
4. Read *rasmi*.
5. Read *āśraiḥ*.

16. Sa-Chitrakūṭam bahu-chitra-kūṭam śakya[m*] Surēndrair=api
17. n=ōpayātum trivargga-yuktaḥ= prañat=āri-vargga
18. s=svabhāva-durggaṃ kiḷa tam jahāra ||[4*] Tasy=āt-majō da
19. kṣhiṇa-bāhu-daṇḍa-chaṇḍ=āsi-dhār=āhata-vairi-
20. shaṇḍḥ bālōd⁶=grihīt=ākhila-Vēṅgi-dēśaḥ=pā-
21. tisma prithvīm= Arikēsar =īśaḥ || 5*] Bhūyō='smān = Na-
22. rasimha-varmma-nṛipatir=bhūmim sam= āpādaya-
23. n=Rājāditya iti kshamāpatir=atām⁷ Śrī Yuddhama-
24. llā⁸-nṛipaḥ [|*] tyaktē⁹ yēna darī-vivarṇna¹⁰ vibavyā-naiḥ¹¹kshitaḥ
25. bhū-bhujaḥ [|] paśchād= Baddega-rakshid= ātara-param¹² Śrī-Yuddha-
26. mallāḥ punaḥ ||[6*] Tatas=sa-rājanya-śirōmaṇinām=pād=āra-
27. vindēna ruchō=harad=yah [|*] babhūva nāmnā- Na-rasimhadēvaḥ =pra
28. bhāty(?)=umān =paura-vṛit=ābhivādyā¹³ || [7*] Yas=[sa]pta dus=sādha-taraṃ nṛi-

6. Read *balād*.

7. Read *ataḥ*.

8. Read *mallō*.

9. Read *tyaktaṃ*.

10. Read *vivarṇna*.

11. The text is corrupt; and the sense is not quite clear.

12. Read *paras*

13. Text is corrupt.

PLATE 3



L(V) emulavāḍa Inscription

Second Side

SECOND FACE

29. pāṇān= nijitya¹⁴ sadyas = samar= āṅga-
 30. ṇēshu [|*] viinyasyakē hastam=atō¹⁵ natānām =
 31. stān=Māḷavan=yaḥ karadī chakāra || [8*] Praty=
 udgatām
 32. Gūrjjara-rāja-sēnām^{15a} n=nirjjitya rājā svayam=ēka
 33. ēva [|*] Kālapriyē rāja-kada[r̄n]bakasya stambhē sva-
 śau-
 34. ryy[r̄n]vililēkha śailē || [9*] Tasy=ōdapādi baḷava-
 35. t=para - chakra-kumbhi kumbha-sthaḷ=ōddaḷana-dak-
 sha-kṛi-
 36. pāṇa-pāṇiiḥ [|*] bhīt=ānat=āri-narapāḷa-kirī-
 37. ṭa-kōṭi-saṁ-ghaṭṭit=ānghri-sarasīja-[vi]rā[jitā]
 38. naḥ¹⁶ || [10*] Śrīmān= mahīpatīs=sākshān = nāmnā
 vīrō
 39. 'rikēsārī [|*] prādur=bbabhūva tējasvī [|]prāta-
 40. r=bhānur=iv=ōdayām¹⁷ [|] 11*] Samasta-sāmanta-
 śikhā-
 41. maṇinām prabhā-prapāt=āyita śārvarām svām¹⁸[|*]
 42. sadārī¹⁹ nārī-nayan=āmbujānām Lakshmīm hi-
 43. m=āsāra iv=āharad= yaḥ || [12*] Sāmantān=daṇḍa-
 mu

14. Read *nirjjitya*.15. Read *ataḥ*.15-a. Read *sēnān=nirjjitya*16. Read *saḥ*.17. Read *prātar=bhānur-iv=ōdayāt*.18. Read *śārvarām saḥ*.19. Read *saṁchārī*.

44. khyān=nija-bhuja-parighām²⁰ praspshurat= khaḍga-dhārā-
45. nīr-āmbhōrāśi - magnāms=turaga - kari- ghaṭā- patti-sam-
46. patti-yuktān [|*] kṛtvā Pandyārayyam =āryyam sva-jana-pari-
47. janais=san= nihaty=āji-raṁgē kruddhē Gōvinda-rājē śaraṇa-
48. m = upagatō rakshitō yēna Bijjaḥ[|| 13] Dēvīm Rēva-kanirmma-
49. ḍi kshitipatēr = Indrasya putrīn = nutām Paulōmīm = iva
50. Vāsava[h*] Śriyam=iva Śrīman = Muradhvaṁsa-kaḥ [|*] strī-ratnam
51. pariṇīya yōna nitaram²¹ tasyās=sapatnikṛitā [nū]
52. nām sapta-samudra-mudrita-mahīm²²=mān=ōnnatēn =ādhu
53. -nā|| [14*] Tēna bhīt=ānat=ākhiḷa-baḷavad=iḷāpālā-mau-
54. ḷi-māṇikya-raśmi-mālā- lālita-charaṇa- kama-
55. ḷa-yugaḷēna śaraṇ=āyāta - kshitipāḷa - prāṇa -

THIRD FACE

56. rakshaṇa- dakshaka[h*] kriyā kōpala-tikshyaṇa²³-dakshiṇa -

20. Read *parighān*.

21. Read *yēna nitarām*.

22. Read *maḥī*.

23. Read *tikshṇa*.

PLATE 4



L(V) Ēmulavāḍa Inscription

Third Side



57. bhuj-ārggalēna kāntyā-kānta-kāntā-jana-manō- naya -
58. -na-vallabhēna Karēṇu-putrēṇ=aivas=sakala-gaja-chi-
59. kitsā-kavadōna²⁴ Gautmēn=ēva =ēk=aśīti²⁵-kaḷ =āva-
60. dhi-vidhi-kudraḷōna²⁶ rāj=ātmajēn=ēva parikshā-
61. vidhāna-dakshiṇa[h*] Vādvaḷēn=ēva bandhu - rak-
shaṇa-²⁷
62. skandha-saṁbandha-parāyaṇēna Īśvarēṇ = ēva
63. vijita - manōjēn = Ōmā-priyēṇa cha
64. Nārāyaṇēn = ēva Gōvardhanēna dharēṇa²⁸ cha
65. Chaturānan=ēva chatur-ānan =ēva saka -
66. ḷa-kaḷā-ṇiḷayēna kaḷādhiravat²⁹= ku -
67. mud= ānandha- karēṇa³⁰ kāntimatā cha Vanajā-
68. bandhun = ēva prabōdhita-bandhura- bandhu - va
69. dana-vanajēna nirastō = 'rāti³¹- timirēṇa
70. cha sahasra-kiraṇavad = atuḷa-tējasā
71. Śrīmad = Arikēsari - Mahārājēna ||
72. Svasti [|*] sam =adhigata pañcha-mahā-śabda mahā -
73. sāmant =ādhipati samasta-bhuvana-saṁstūyamā -

24. Read *kōvindēna*.

25. Read *ēk=aśīti*.

26. *kudraḷēna*—The reading *kuddaḷēna* is suggested, but it is hardly more intelligible.

27. There appears to be some omission here.

28. The correction *Gōvardhan=ōddharaṇēna* is certainly tempting, but the conjunction *cha* introduces an element of doubt.

29. Read *kalādhara-vat*.

30. Read *ānandakarēṇa*.

31. Read *nirast=ārāti*.

74. na Chāḷukya-vamś= ōdbhavaṃ pāmbar= āṃkuśan =
ammana - ga-
75. -ndha-vāraṇam gandh= ēbha-vidyādharaṇ =ārūḍha-
sarvvajña-
76. n = udātta-nārāṇnam³² noḍutti-gelvōm guṇa-nidhi-
guṇ=ā -
77. rṇava³³ śa[raṇ=ā]gata - vajra - paṃjaraṃ priya -gaḷ-
laṃ
78. tribhuvana-malla - sāmanta - chūḍāmaṇi śrī -
79. mad = Arikēsariy=arasar [|*] tat= pāda - padm =
ōpa-
80. jīvi samasta -rājya-bhara^{33a} - nirūpita mahā -
81. sandhi - vighraha - padavi - pratishṭhitam samasta -
82. śāstra - pāragaṃ śrīmat=sandhi - vighrahi - Guṇ =āṃku
83. śēna || [tad = āram bhillō yāksha -
84. nma-jana - vīsaṭiyim Āditya -
85. mge biṭṭe]³⁴

FOURTH FACE

85. Śrīmān =sudhir =bBaddega - bhūmi - bharttus =
ta[n*]-
86. tr =ādhipālō = 'jani Nāgam =āryyaḥ [|*] Guṇ =
ārṇna-³⁵

32. Read *nārāyaṇam*.

33. Read *guṇ=ārṇnavam*.

33-a. Read *bhāra*.

34. The lines of the inscription within [] square brackets have no connection with the rest of the inscription. They appear to have been erased; but they are still distinct enough to be read. Evidently they have been inserted later.

35. Read *guṇ=ārṇnavō*.



L (V) ĕmulavāḍa Inscription

Fourth Side

87. v=ōrvīpati-tantra-pālas=tasy=ātmajō='jāya-
88. ta Peddaṇ=āryyaḥ [| | 15*] Tēn=ābhyarthitō dēvatā-
(m) - vanda -
89. na - nimittam = āgata[h*] sva-nirmmāpit = Āditya -
grhā -
90. y= āgat = ābhyāgata - jana - satra - nimittam = uttarā-
91. yaṇa - puṇya - saṁkrānti- divasē śata - nivarattana - sa-
92. m̄khyāta - bhūmi - kshetram = ashṭa - nivarttana - saṁ-
khyā[tam]
93. pāṇiya - bhūmi - kshētram cha Lēmbulavāṭa -
94. ka - pattaṇ = aiśāna - kōṇō śrīmad = Arikēsari - kshiti-
95. patir = adāt || tatra Rājēśvar = Āditya-griha - Badde -
96. gēśvara - Nagarēśvara - prabhṛiti chatu[s*] = sthān =
ād[h*]ivā -
97. sas = sākshi - Mallikārjuna Vyakta-lingi Vidyārāśi
98. Vyākhyāni-bhaṭṭārakaś = cha sākshiṇaḥ || Chandra-
śrēshṭhi - prabhṛi -
99. tayō nava śrēshṭhinas = cha sākshiṇaḥ^{35a} [| |*]
100. Nis-prih = aik = āgrāṇis = sūri = sthān = ādhishṭhā-
yaka - svayaṁ [|*]
101. Thātaviy -ānvayē jātaḥ paṇḍita[ś-cha*] mun = īśva-
raḥ || [16*]
102. sva = dharmma - vad = ayaṁ dharmmaḥ pālanīyō na-
rādhipai [h*]
103. na dharmmyē yā sthitās=santaḥ prachyuvantē kadā-
chana [17*]
104. Kālakshēpō na-karttavayaṁ āyu-kshīṇaṁ dinē dinē
[|*]

35-a. Read sākshiṇaḥ.

105. Yamasya karuṇan = nāsti dha[r*]mmasya tvarit=
āgatam [|| 18*]
106. Anityāni śarīrāṇi vibhavō nayva śāsvataṁ [|*]
107. nitya[m*] sannihitō mrityu[h*] karttavyaṁ dharmma-
saṁgraha[m]³⁶ [|| 19*]
108. tasya kshētrasya dvādasa drammas = siddhāyaḥ [|| *]

D

THE PARABHANI PLATES

These plates are deposited in the Library of the Bharat Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal, Poona. The impressions are unfortunately not available for consultation. It is, however, considered necessary, for the sake of completeness, to include this inscription also in the present monograph. According to the *Jain Sahitya aur Itihas*, where the text of the record is reproduced, it consists of three copper-plates containing fifty-one lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit, both verse and prose, and the script (Telugu)-Kannāḍa of the period to which the inscription refers itself.

The charter opens naturally with a verse in praise of the Jaina faith, as the gift which it registers was made for the benefit of a Jaina shrine called *Śubhadhāma-Jinālaya*. It introduces next the king named Yuddhamalla of the Chālukya family, born from the Sun (V.2). He was the lord of the Sapādalaksha; and he caused his must elephants to be bathed in a pool of oil at Pōdana (V.3). His son was Arikēsari (I) who protected Vēṅgi together with Trikalīṅga (V.4). He had two sons, Narasimha and Bhadrādēva, of whom the former had a son called Yuddhamalla (II). To

36. Read *karttavyo dharmma-saṁgrahaḥ*.

him was born a son called Baddiga. By virtue of the prowess of his arms, Baddiga seized in battle in a sportful manner, as though he would catch an alligator in water, Bhīma whom his enemies held in fear on account of his victories on the battle-field, as the very Bhīma of the Pāṇḍavas (V. 7). His son was Yuddhamalla (III), and to him was born king Narasiṃha (II). He begot Arikēsari (II), who married the beautiful and virtuous lady Lōkāmbikā born of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family (VV. 10-12). Of these two, like Kārtikēya of Śiva and Pārvatī, was the famous son Bhadrādēva (V. 13). From him was born the resplendent king Arikēsari, the donor of the charter under consideration. He was a subordinate of Akālavarsha Kṛishṇarāja (III), son of Amōghavarsha (III) of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. He was a *mahā-samant=ādhipati* (the head of all the chief feudatories) who was entitled to the *pāñcha-mahā-śbdas* (five great musical instruments), and had several *birudas* such as *pāmbārāṅkuṣa*, *ammana-gandha-vāraṇa*, *gandh=ēbha-vidyādhara*, *priya-gaḷḷa*, *tribhuvanamalla*, *udātta-Nārāyana*, *pratyaksha-Vādvali*, *vikram=ārjuna*, *guṇaārṇava*, *sāmanta-chūdāmaṇi*, &c. The text of the inscription was composed by the poet Peddaṇabhaṭṭa, and engraved by Rēva.

The object of the charter is to register, as stated above, the gift of land to *Śubhadhāma-Jinālaya* built by Baddiga, the father of Arikēsari, in the capital Lēmbulapāṭaka. The gift which consisted of the village of Kuttumvṛitti-Vanikaṭupalu situated in the middle of the twelve villages of Rēpāka (Rēpāka-Twelve) in the Sabbi-Thousand, was made on Wednesday, Vaiśakha Paurṇimāsya of the year Akshaya corresponding to Śaka years 888 (7th April, A.D. 966) to the Jain divine Sōmadēvasūri who was probably the *sthānapati* of the said *jinālaya*. Sōmadēva was a famous scholar and man of letters. His spiritual descent is as follows: In the Gauḍa-saṅgha there arose a great sage called

Yaśōdēva, his pupil was Nēmidēva who had several disciples of whom Sōmadēva was the most important. He composed the *Yaśōdharacharita* (*Yaśastilaka-Champu*) and the *Śyād-vādōpanishad*, besides a number of verses. He is said to have been held in great esteem by many kings of the age.

TEXT

1. Jayati jagati jainam śāsanam dharmma-chakra-
kraka-cha-vidalit=ainas=chakravālam namasyām |
trijagad=adhipa-vaṁdyam mandiram maṅgalānām
dadhad = adhika-manōjñam pañcha-kalyāṇa - laksh-
mīm ||
2. Asty=Āditya-bhavō vaṁśaś=Chālukya iti viśrutaḥ |
tatr=ābhūd=Yuddhamall=ākhyah nṛpatir= vikram
ārṇavaḥ ||
3. Sapādalaksha-bhūbharttā taila-vāpyām sa Pōdanē |
avagāh=ōtsavam chakrē Śakra-śrīr=mmada-danti-
nām ||
4. Sa-Kalimṅga-trayam Vēṁgīm yō='vatisma parākra-
māt |
putrō=jaya-śriyaḥ pātram tasy= āsīd = Arikēsari ||
5. Narasimhō Bhadrādēvas =tējaḥ kānti-nidhis=svayam |
tasy=ābhūtām sutau sākshāt = sūrya-chandravamsāv=
iva ||
6. Tatr = ābhūn = Narasimhasya Yuddhamallas=tanū-
bhavaḥ |
vandi-chintāmaṇis=tasya Baddigō= 'jani nandanah ||
7. Nānā-durddhari-Yuddha-labdha-vijaya-śrī saṅgam =
ākarnṇanād=
Bhīmaḥ Pāṇḍava ēsha ity= asuhṛidō=yasmāt= paraḥ
bibhyati |

Bhīmaṁ bhīma-parākram=aika-nilayan=tam hēlaya=
iv=āgrahīt

ugraṁ grāham=iv=āntar= ambu-samarē dōr=vvikra-
mād= Baddigaḥ ||

8. Audāryya-nirjjita sura-druma-kāmadhēnōr=
ddōr=vvikrama-krama-tiraskṛita Kārttavīryāt=
tasmād=ajāyata sutaḥ kamaṇīya-kīrttiḥ
Śrī-Yuddhamalla-nṛipatiḥ prathita-pratāpaḥ ||

9. Kurvvann=iv=ātra nija-nāma-yath=ārtham =uch-
chair =
āvirbhavad= bhuja-parākrama-ḍambarēṇa |
śāt=āsi tīvra-nakhar=āgra-vidārit=āri-
vaksha-sthalō= 'jani tatō Narasimharājaḥ ||

10. Mādyad=durddhara-vairi- vāraṇa- śiraḥ kuṭṭāka-
dōś=śālinah
simhasy=eṅva sa-kēsar=iha Narasimhasya sphurad=
vikramaḥ
tasy=āsīd=Arikēsar=īti tanayō śūnyam kṛitam śaiśa-
vam

Yen=ōdyat=kshitibhrit=pradhāna- kaṭak = ākrānti-
kṛimā krīḍaya ||

11. Āryyach=chhatra-yugaṁ himāṁśu-viśadam haim=
āravind= ānkitam

māyūr=ātapa-vāraṇam cha kakudaṁ yadya=iva rājya-
śriyaḥ |

agrē dhāvati yasya samprati sa kim varṇṇyēta vīr=
āgrāṇī

dvārvār=ōru-parākramē guṇa-maṇiḥ sāmanta-chūḍā-
maṇiḥ ||

12. Rāshṭrakūṭa-kulē khyātē jātā Lōkāmbikā satī |
vīra-śrīr=iva vīrasya tasy=āsīt=sudatī priyā ||
13. Bhadrādēva iti nandanas=tayōḥ śaktimān=sa-vina-
yas= sa-dakṣiṇaḥ |
Sāila-rāja-tanayā Triṇētrayōḥ Kārttikēya iva kīrttimān=
abhūt ||
14. Tasmād=ajani tējasvī rājā nāmn= Ārikēsari |
ānanda-chandravach = chakrē kāntyā kuvalayasya
yaḥ ||
15. Śrī-Gauḍa-saṁghē muni-mānya-kīrttir=nnāmnā Yaśō-
dēva iti prajājñē
babhūva yasy=ōgra-tapaḥ prabhāvāt=sam-āgamaś=
śāsana-dēvatābhiḥ ||
16. Sishyē='bhavat=tasya mah=ārththi-bhājaḥ Śyādvāda-
ratnākara-pāradrīśvā
Śrī Nēmidēvaḥ para-vādi-darppa-drumāvalich=chhēda-
kuṭhāra-nēmih ||
17. Tasmāt=tapaś=śriyō bharattā (bharttur)=llōkānām-
hṛidayaṁgamah |
babhūvur=bbahvō śishyāḥ ratnān=iva tad=ākarāt ||
18. Tēshām śatasy=āvarajaḥ śatasya tay=ābhavat=pūrv-
aja ēva dhīmān |
Śrī Sōmadēvas=tapasah śrutasya sthānam yaśō-dhāma
guṇ= ōrjjita-śrīḥ ||

Api cha yō bhagavān = ādarśas=samasta- vidyānām vira-
chayitā Yaśōdharacharitasya karttā Śyādvād=ōpanishadaḥ
Kavi(vayi) tā ch= ānyēshām = api subhāshitānām =
akhila-mahā sāma[nta-sī] manta-prānta-paryyast =ōttama-sa-
sraksur=abhicharaṇas=sakala - vidvajjana- karṇ=āvata-

msī-bhavad=yasaḥ puṇḍarīkaḥ sūrya iva sakal=āvani-bhṛi-
tām śiras= śrēṇishu śikkhaṇḍa-maṇḍanāyamāna pāda-pad-
mō='bhūt |

Svasty = Akālavārsha-dēva Śrī Prithivīvallabha Ma-
hārāj=ādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Śrīmad =
Amōghavarshadēva-pād = ānu-dhyāta pravarddhamāna -
vijayarājya Śrī Kṛṣṇarājadēva - pāda - padm = ōpajī-
vinā ||

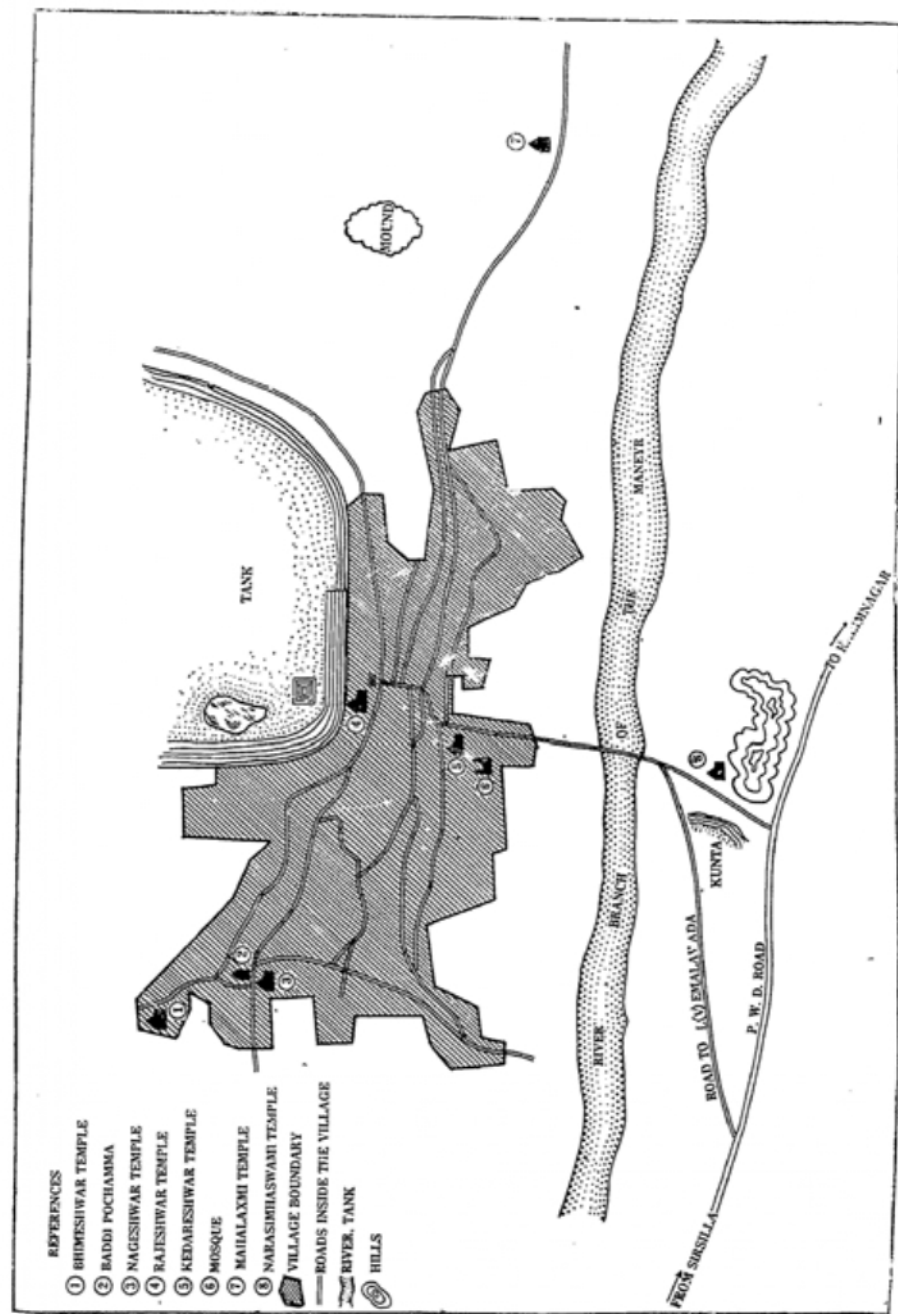
Svasti Sam= adhigata pañcha-mahā-śabda mahā-sā-
mant= ādhipatis=samasta - bhuvana - samstūyamāna Chā-
lukya-vaiś=ōdbhava- pāmbar =āmkuś=āmmana-gandha-
vāraṇagadh=ēbha - vidyādhara priya-gaḷla tribhuvanamall
=ōdāta-nārāyaṇa pratyaksha-Vādvali-Vikram=Ārjuna gu-
ṇa-nidhi-guṇ=ārṇava-sāmanta-chūdāmaṇi-pramukh= ānē-
ka-prasasti- vijay=āmkaṁ = ālāṁkṛitēna [Lēm]bulapā-
ṭaka- nāmadhēya nija-rājadhānyām nija-pituḥ Śrīmad=
Vadyagasya Śubhadhāma- jinālay = ākhya - vasatēḥ khaṇḍa-
sphuṭita-nava-sudhā-karmma-bali-nivēdy = ārttham Śak=
ābdē= 'sṭ=āśīty= adhikēshv=asṭa- śatēshu gatēshu (pra-
va)rdhamāna Kshaya-saṁvatsara Vaiśākha Pō(pau)ṛṇa-
māsyām budhavārē tēna Śrīmad = Arikēsaripā anantar =
oktāya tasmai Śrīmat=Sōmadēva Sūrayē Sabbi-dēśa-sahasr
=āntar=ggata Rēpāka dvādasa-grāmī madhyē Kuttumvṛitti-
Vanikaṭupalu - nāma grāmaḥ tri-bhōg= abhyantara-siddhi
sarvva-namasyas=s=ōdaka - dhārān=dattaḥ || tasya pūrv-
vataḥ Daripūru | dakṣiṇataḥ Ilindikunṭa | paschimataḥ
Vēllālapaṭṭu | uttarataḥ Kaṭṭākūru | ēvam chatur= āghāṭa-
ghaṭita-bhūmi-khāta sūryy-ōttariyaḥ ||

19. Samanyō = 'yan = dharmma-sētun=nripāṇām
kālē kālē pālāniyō bhavadbhiḥ |

sarvvān = ētān = bhavina[h] pāṛthivēndraḥ
bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ ||

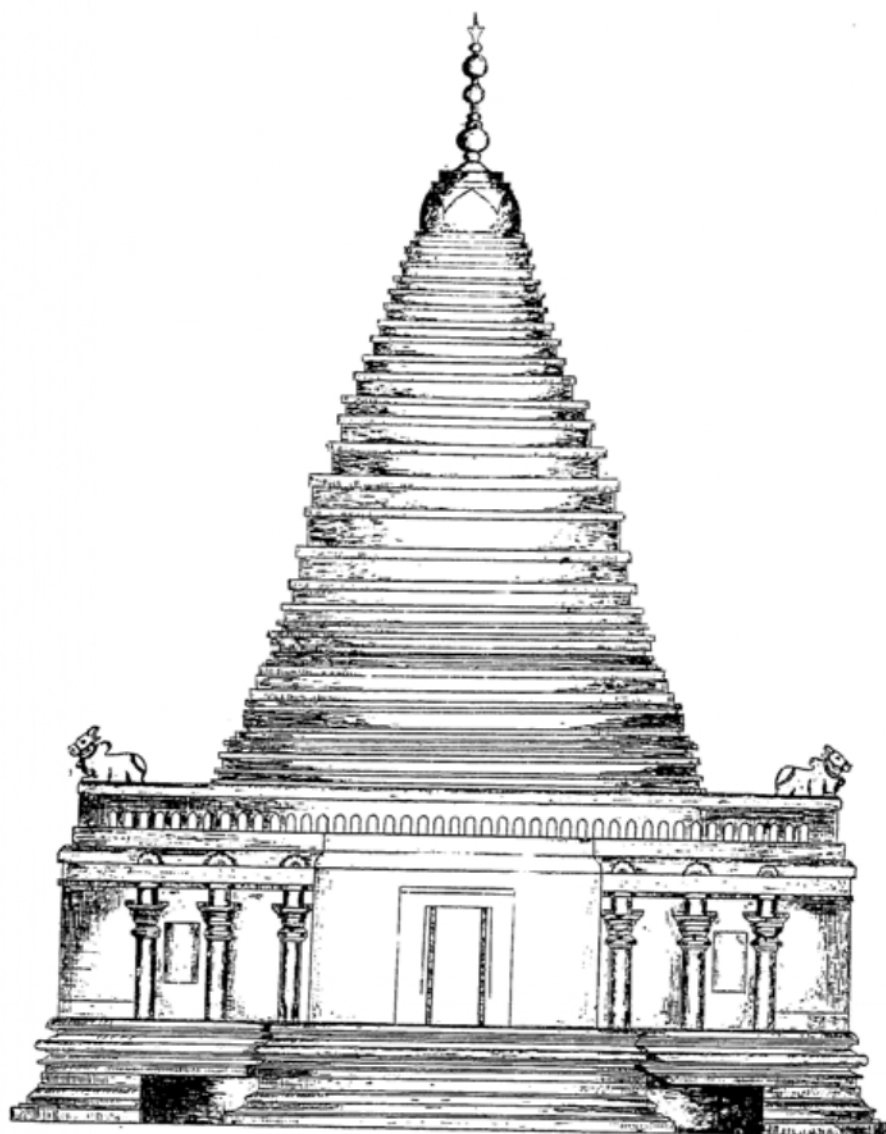
20. Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=sagar=ā[dibhiḥ] |
Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ||
21. Mad=vaṁśajāḥ para-mahīpati - vaṁśajā vā
pāpād=apēta-mansō bhuvi bhāvi bhūpaḥ |
Yē pālayanti mama-dharmmam= imam samastam
tēshām mayā virachit=ōñjalir= ēsha mūrdhna ||
22. Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasum̐dharām |
Shashṭir=varsha- sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyām jāyatē kri-
miḥ ||
23. Arikēsariṇā dattam̐ kathitam kavi-Peddaṇēna - bhaṭ-
ṭēna
Śāsanam= idam = utkīrṇṇam̐ śubhadhāma-jinālayasya
Rēvēṇa ||

PLATE 6



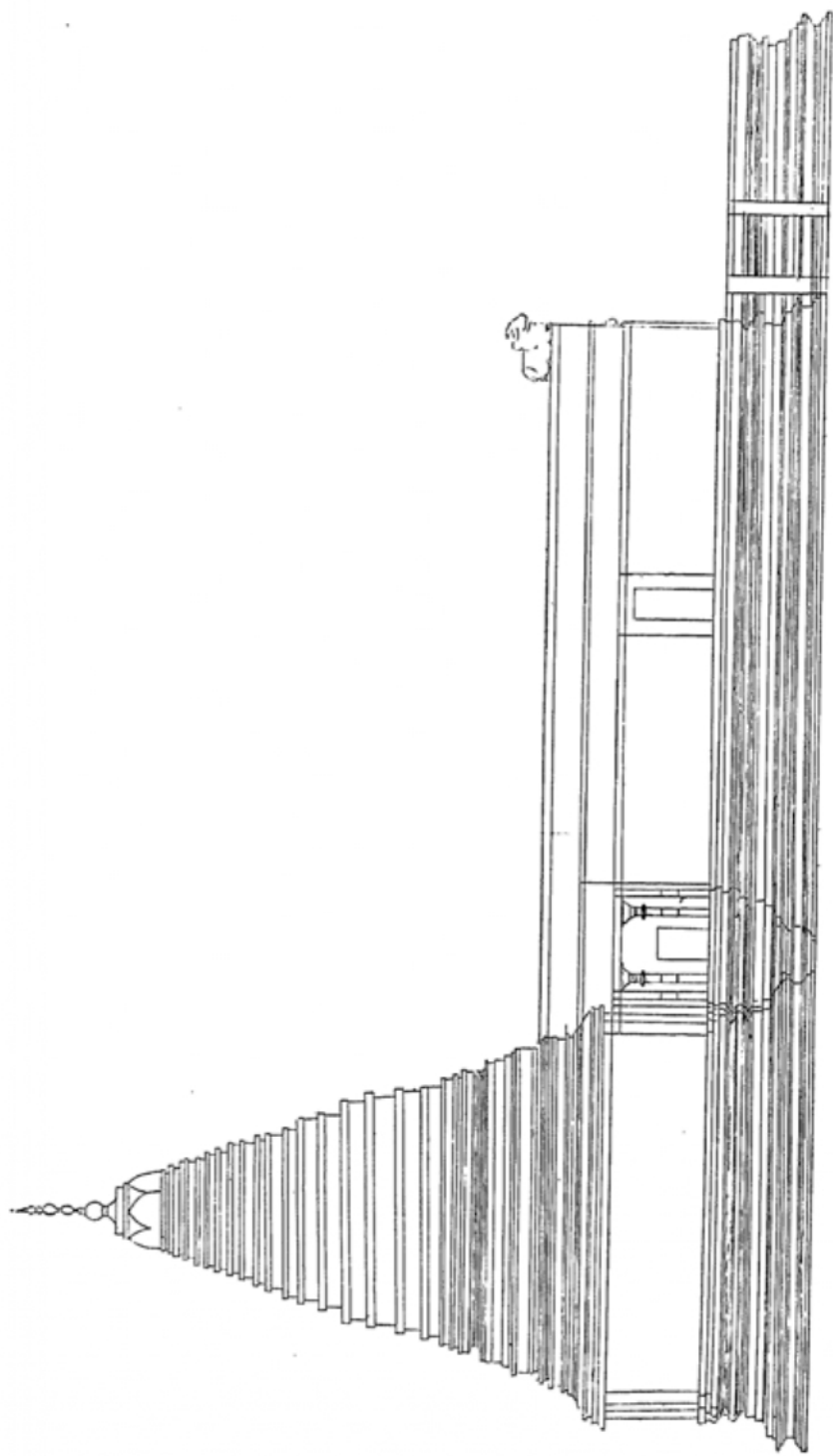
Site plan of Lémulavāda Village, Karimnagar Dist.

PLATE 7



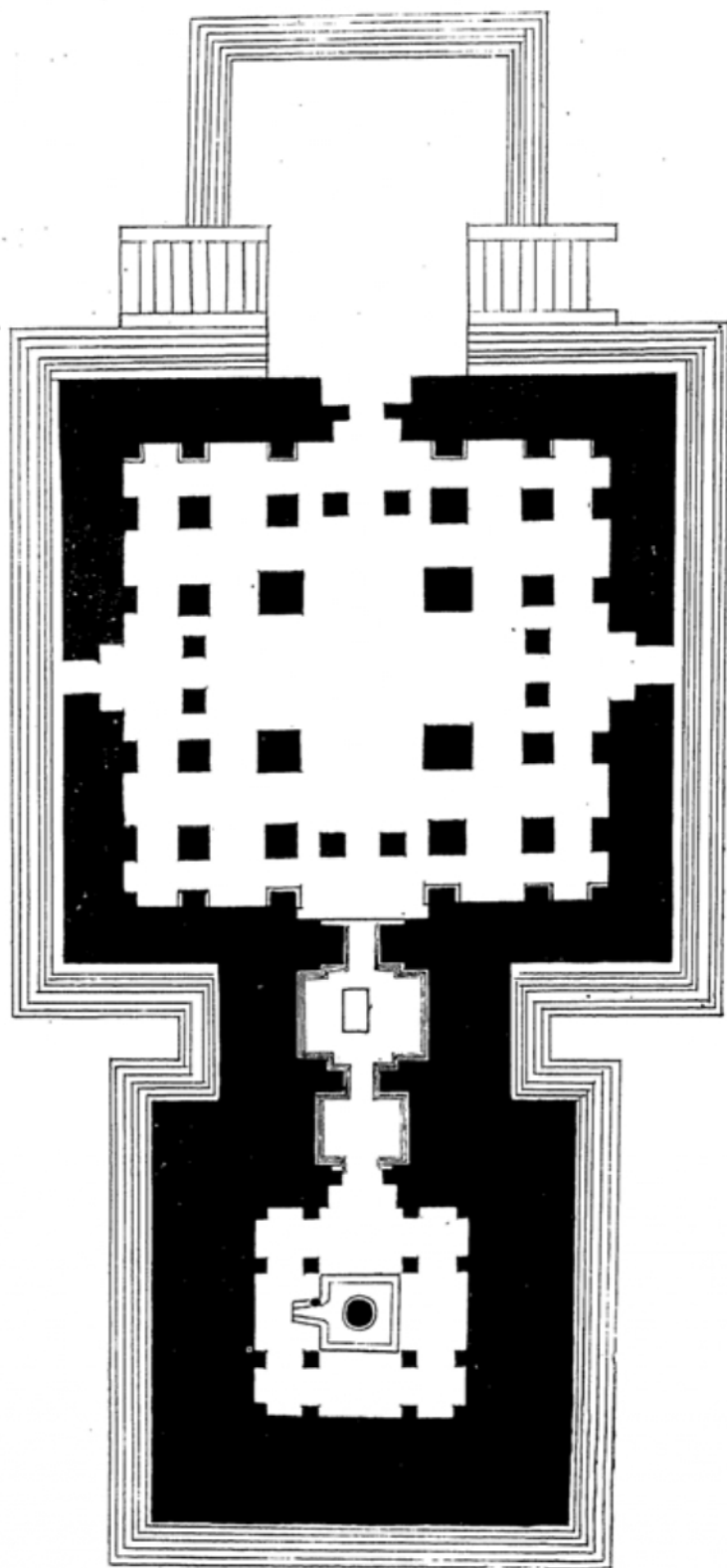
Front view of Bhimeshwar Temple

PLATE 8



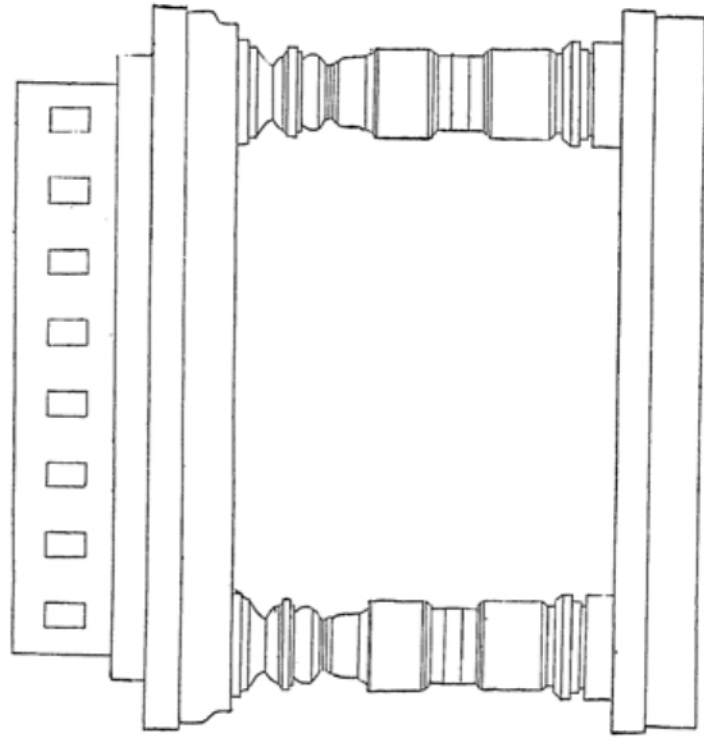
A side elevation of Bhimeshwar Temple

PLATE 9

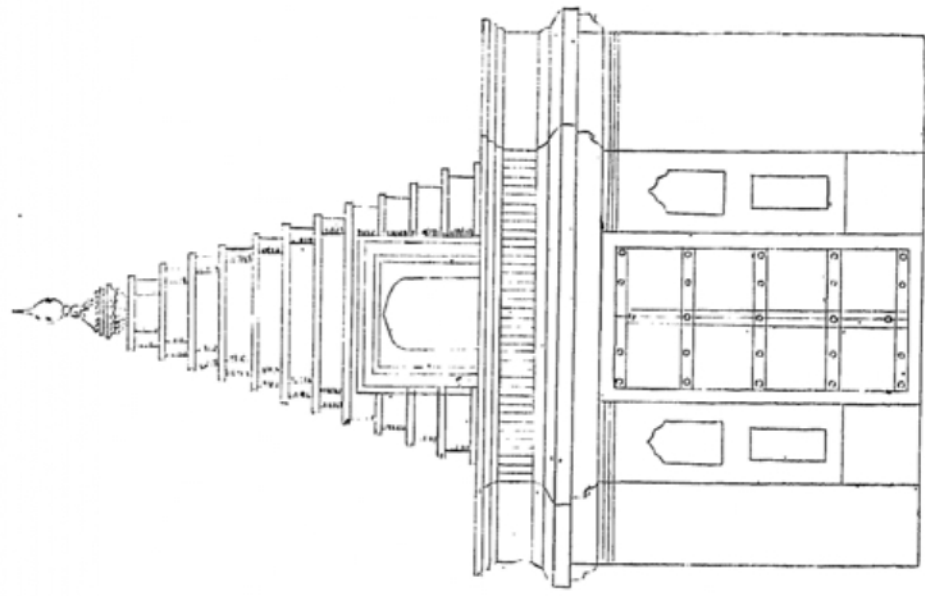


Ground plan of Bhimeshwar Temple

PLATE 10

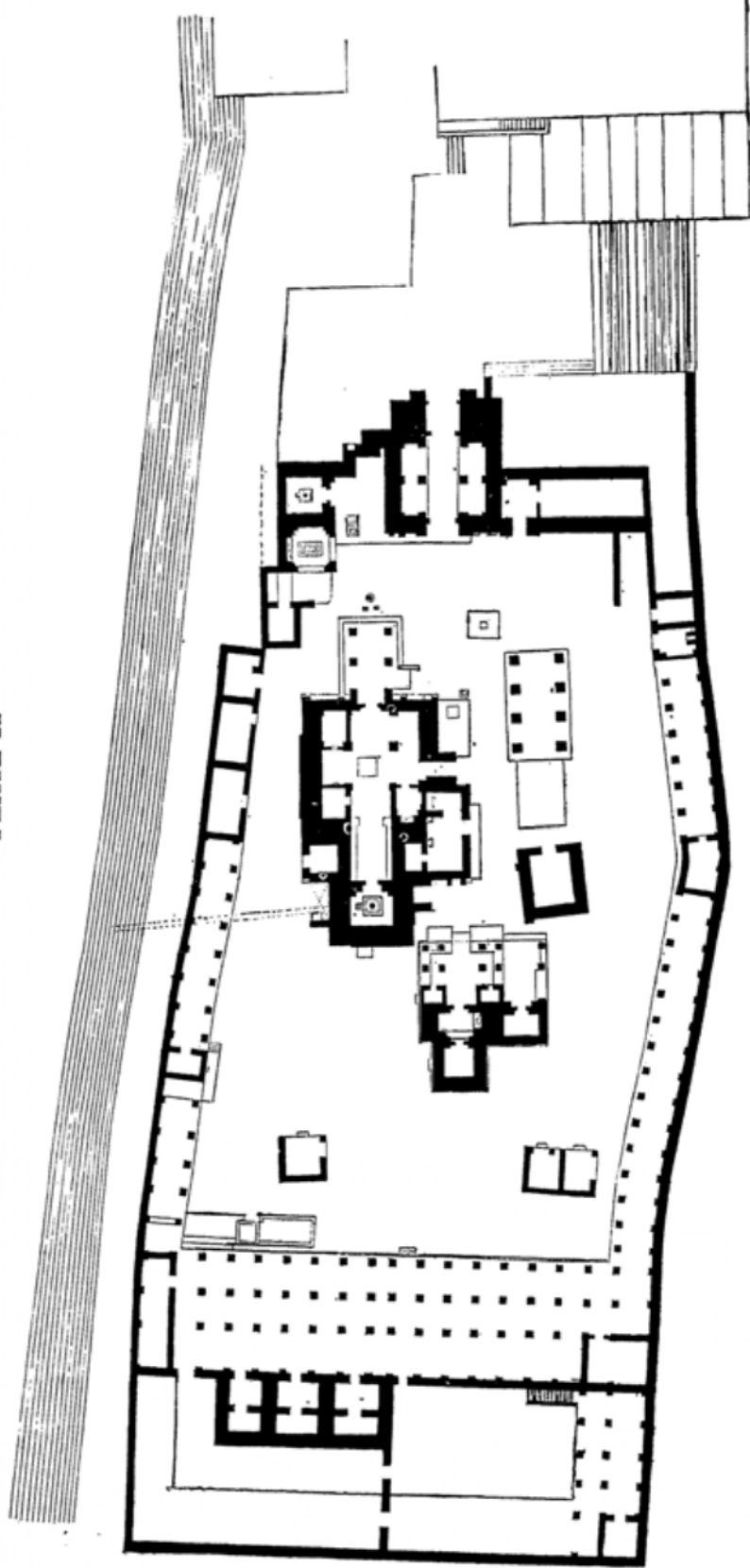


Front elevation of Kalyan Mandap, Rajeshwar Temple



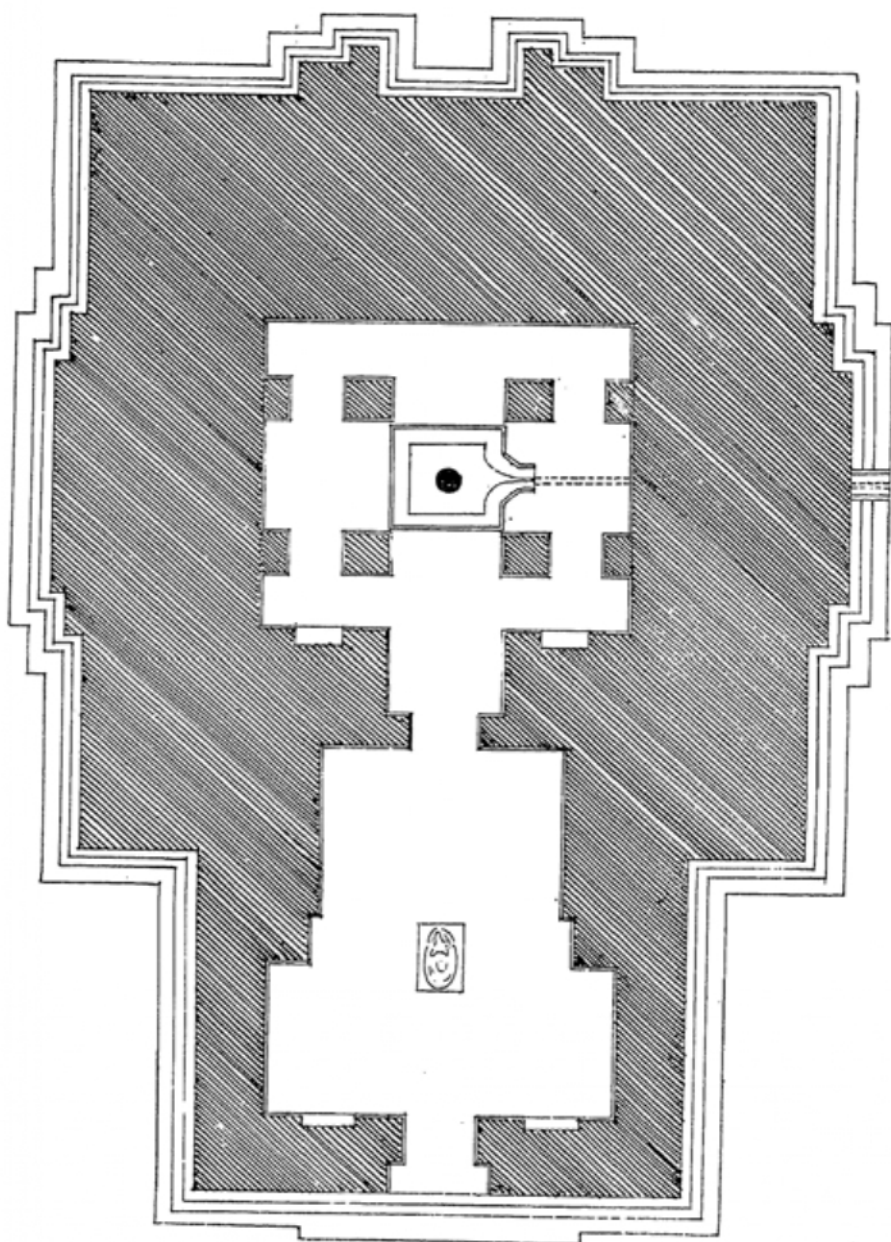
Entrance of Rajeshwar Temple

PLATE 11



Ground plan of Rajeshwar Temple

PLATE 12



Plan of Kedareshwar Temple

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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